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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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DISSIDENTS CALL FOR ELECTION BOYCOTT

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 15, 9 Apr 84 pp 116-117

[Article: "Significant Highpoint--a New Form of Protest in the GDR: Handbills Call for Boycotting Communal Elections"]

[Text] The Milkers Collective of stable C of the Demen Agricultural Production Cooperative, Kreis of Schwerin, was in agreement: Hannelore Gruendling, 36, was again to be their representative on the Community Council. After all, the graduate in cattle breeding not only had a pleasing manner but also had seen to it that the cows gave more milk than prescribed by the plan.

Master Baker Guenther Beinlich, 45, too wants to be people's representative, in his hometown Merseburg. Praising him, his eight-person labor collective had stated that he not only had produced delicious rolls and pastry but through systematic rationalization had also contributed to a better supply of the population.

Like Hannelore Gruendling and Guenther Beinlich, more than 263,000 candidates aspire to the 202,762 seats to be filled in the communal elections of 6 May in 191 kreis councils, 34 municipal bezirk assemblies, 615 municipal councils of kreis towns and 6,926 communal representations of the GDR.

As always, there are more candidates on the lists of the National Front than there are seats. But they are all elected: the supernumeraries are allowed to work in the communal parliaments as substitutes.

In those parliaments, the people's representatives under the leadership of the SED kreis executives see to agriculture and cattle breeding, better housing and beautification of the communities, day care centers and care of the aged. In short, says Chairman of the Council of Ministers Willi Stoph, they are to "create the best possible conditions for the all-round fulfillment and systematic surpassing of state plans."

What is more, this time, according to the election call of the National Council of the National Front, their "priority task" is "the preservation of peace," for "mankind is facing the danger of sliding into a nuclear inferno, and that can and must be prevented."

A number of GDR citizens apparently has interpreted that too literally. In various GDR towns, particularly in Thuringia, some leaflets have turned up in the past few weeks which for the first time publicly call for a boycott of the elections. They state:

"Without contradiction, the peace policy obeys the mania of bloc logic. The domestic political pressure on peace movements is growing steadily. The problems we face will not be solved by ideological rigidity. Though you sometimes vote for different names, the aims and means remain the same. We must at last develop an awareness of this situation.

"The local people's representations too are the representatives of a failed policy. We must ACT before we perish as a result of such a policy. Your entirely personal ELECTION BOYCOTT and that of your friends and acquaintances is an expression of this awareness, a signal for the rulers."

They understood. State Security, anyway, summoned the usual suspects after the circulation of the leaflets. The originators of the protest were not found.

There is good reason to look for them among the peace movements operating independently of the state, which are thus giving a signal that -- generous permits for travel abroad, on the one hand, and repressions, on the other hand, notwithstanding -- the potential of unrest in the GDR is growing.

The influence of the protesters remains small, however. While formally the GDR has free, universal and secret elections, anyone who does not vote, goes to the booths at the election places or (the only possibility to vote no) individually strikes out the names of all candidates has to expect to be visited at home by a party agitator, or worse.

In the last communal elections, in 1979, only 1.72 percent of the more than 12 million persons entitled to vote resisted this pressure by not voting. And only 20,990 GDR citizens -- 0.17 percent of the valid votes -- voted against the National Front.

Its candidates, anyway, are already elected before the election: they need to be confirmed by their labor collectives, which (the organ of the FDJ Central Council, JUNGE WELT, states proudly) is an "expression of a thorough democratic test."

Thus again more than 99 percent will vote for the National Front on 6 May. And that, according to Stoph, is "a significant highpoint in the 35th year of the existence of the GDR."

8790
CSO: 2300/385

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SPECIAL GROUND FORCE RECONNAISSANCE TRAINING DETAILED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No3, Mar 84 (signed to press 20 Jan 84)
pp 7-11

[Article by Lt Col Ernst Gebauer: "...Then Let Him Kick!"]

[Text/ The hand-to-hand fighting is decided lightningfast, the patrol has been noiselessly overpowered and tied up. The soldiers reluctantly follow the "white coats" but the ones in the camouflage coats could also have lost.

The IFVs had crept up along the edge of the forest. The escape hatch was cautiously opened. With two jumps the two scouts are in the underbrush and next to an obstacle. How is it secured? The scouts are supposed to find out. Noises in the underbrush make them even more vigilant. But before the security unit at the obstacle is able to do anything, the scouts decide the situation in their favor with short burst from their submachine gun. With a little less attention the pair of scouts would have walked into the trap.

The scouts now approach their target cautiously. As one moves forward, the other covers him. The forest becomes thinner. There are only a few isolated trees. The scouts make use of the only possibility for cover. The person ahead, leaning against a tree, wants to observe the terrain. But he does not make it, is yanked to the ground and is freed again only because the second scout comes to his aid.... Since I have been observing the complex training of the Tettenborn company, the question arises for me all the time: What is it that these comrades must be prepared for in combat?

Their company commander and his instructors say they want to instill individual fighter qualities as thoroughly as possible in the soldiers. They are supposed to become coldblooded and self-disciplined, courageous and steadfast. This is the goal of the various stages of training, whereby the action is not squeamish. They get into it. Many a punch is given and also received. And only skill and ability of the individual decide on success.

While still in training, three of the participating comrades answer me:

"The enemy will deliver blows wherever he can." These words of the soldier Broda are supplemented by PFC Steffen Guenter: "From our study of the enemy we know what belongs to the training of the soldiers of an imperialist army. They

are asked for quite a bit. Well, they are supposed to know their trade. Otherwise they wouldn't be worth their money." "We must not make any mistakes either in recognizing their intentions or their possibilities. The scout makes only one mistake!" PFC Matthias Scheier adds. "Therefore we must be better prepared than the enemy. That ranges from knowing that a Marder IFV holds 10 men and during combat that many can emerge from it, to the information as to what mission has been assigned to them against us."

The statements by the three comrades indicate that "be prepared" is much easier said than done. The 24-year-old Steffen Guenter is a train engineer, Matthias Scheier of the same age is a skilled construction worker and the one-year younger Ralf Broda is a mechanic. They are heads of families and prior to military service they had learned neither judo nor karate. Only Matthias as Schalkau soccer goalkeeper and center forward had something of what is called conditioning. Thus they even had to catch up on physical training, and that thoroughly.

"Since the training time is not always enough, we practise hand-to-hand fighting and shooting in the sparetime. For no later than the first setting-up exercises following callup, it becomes apparent that indignation over acts of imperialist aggression in Lebanon and in Grenada as well as over the stationing of new U.S. intermediate-range missiles at our border by itself is not enough to fulfill the military missions." That is comrade Broda's comment on this sparetime occupation, which includes endurance hikes of up to 40 km, so that there will be a noticeable increase in strength. He also admits: "Sometimes you have had it up to here when, after training such as today, there is a close-combat circle. Actually we call it ballet. But we go. When you notice that your own strength grows you become interested again."

Comrade Guenter, the communist and the company's deputy SED party group organizer, does not always join in with enthusiasm: "It requires willpower. But you simply must not be paralyzed in combat of man against man but must be capable of a series of effective actions. For example, if the enemy chokes you immediately pull in your head, push your elbows into his chest, make yourself small and round and throw him on the ground over your shoulders. Or immediately block the forearm of the enemy stabbing from above with the knife, deliver a chop to him on the throat and simultaneously push him into the abdomen with the knee."

Logical, as it is said. But the training actions--and especially real combat--do not proceed as a hand-to-hand fight of the film musketeers where the thrusts are divided according to precise choreography and are absorbed by padding on the bodies of the actors.

"Practise and keep on practising!" thus comrade Broda again takes up the idea. The elements of hand-to-hand fighting have been really absorbed only if the slightest movement of the attacker suffices to react to it with the appropriate defensive action. If a soldier's own stomach muscles are sufficiently trained, then let him kick; simply tighten the stomach muscles." I see that they feel pain nevertheless, but they keep their composure. But now it is practice and the "enemy" is simply a partner. In all man-to-man combat, strict attention is paid to see to it that the other person does not suffer any harm. Are they sure that the experience that they gather is enough to prevail in real combat?

In response, Captain Tettenborn told me: the patrol that he is sending out does not know that it will be attacked. He says he will camouflage the security group at the obstacle, so that the scouts can easily run into it. Thus he creates situations which are unavoidable in combat. As I see, at the same time the captain sees to strict military order and absolute implementation of his orders during this training. Without that combat-like conditions cannot be attained in a practice operation. Moreover, he has all this incorporated in a prolonged tactical operation.

It starts in the afternoon with combat preparation, organization of interaction of the fighters through platoon leaders and NCOs. At the start of dusk, the independent reconnaissance details (SAT) start moving. As is also true in real combat, they march in pathless terrain that is unknown to all of them. At night they creep up on the "enemy." None of the scouts "catch a few winks" on the APC. At any rate, Captain Tettenborn demands observation results, which are to be passed on also in real combat. And thus all eyes must stare into the darkness since the night vision equipment alone cannot pick up everything. "Enemy" positions are to be determined, movements and weapons of his units are to be recognized, passable roads and obstacles are to be determined. (For this purpose, disk targets have been set up in the terrain, genuine obstacles have been set up and parts of the company act in the role of the enemy.) Captain Tettenborn recognizes the capabilities of his soldiers by the manner in which they master these tactical elements of the combat mission--finding and reconnoitering a rocket position. Whether they have the will to fight, are self-controlled and coldblooded, he will find out when he asks them to carry out this man-to-man combat after a strenuous night march.

Thus the captain prepares his soldiers step by step for combat in which they are supposed to be the victors. How do his soldiers feel about that?

The unanimous opinion of my three conversation partners: true, training is hard, and it must necessarily become harder because superiority over the enemy in a possible battle is feasible only in this manner. "The weaker self does not have a chance in soldiers who know why they are slaving away!," soldier Broda states. "Then self-control is easy, the road to a healthy way of living is open and it can be understood that alcohol destroys much physical strength." How necessary it is to become strong for combat finally was recognized also by the PFC of whom they told me the following: Once again the reconnaissance company of the John-Schehr regiment during an exercise was first at the "enemy." The regiment was supposed to attack from march. Its commander knew very little about the nature of the "enemy" defense. Without certain reconnaissance results he was not permitted to lead his regiment in attack. Therefore, Tettenborn's scouts found "sources," among others they took the driver of the exercise enemy commander "prisoner." When they let him go again, he said: "...Oh dear, if I hadn't ducked so much, it would have gone much better for me!" "To us he seems to have been healed from malingering in training," the comrades said. "Even though we did not hurt him much, it couldn't be completely avoided. Perhaps he is now going to try harder." I was thinking of the many efforts that it may well cost everyone of the scouts before they can say, as Broda did: "...then let him kick."

12356

CSO: 2300/366

THEATER DIRECTORS AIDED BY SOCIALIST BEHAVIORAL TRAINING

East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT in German Vol 39 No 3, Mar 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) p 40

[Article by Hans Marggraf, academic staff member of the Directorate for Theaters and Orchestras of the GDR: "Why Doesn't it Work Out?--Why and How the Theater Organization Institutes Socio-Psychological Behavioral Training for Directors of Theater Ensembles"]

[Text] Every theater ensemble director has already had this experience: "I just can't seem to get my ideas across! The rest of the ensemble certainly doesn't always share my well thought out views and intentions. But because of my experience and awareness of things I know that my ideas are right! The supervising director favors my plan. Some of my colleagues also agree. No reasonable person could possible object. And still I meet with resistance! Now what shall I do? Are my colleagues perhaps not as reasonable as I have assumed up to now? Is it possible that they are even incapable of recognizing the greatness of my plan? And furthermore, why should I be surrounded by so much ignorance and incompetence?" Each of us can relate to such thought processes in our own experience. Probably an association is made subconsciously with some person in charge in some particular situation.

Let us assume that the director is not the one who is ignorant or incompetent. Nevertheless, his thought processes still contain some errors. All too often directors see their sole task as the administration and initiation of certain processes. All too often directors neglect another task which is at least as important--being a leader of people.

This raises the question of what is expected of a socialist director. Several scientific disciplines have been occupied with this problem for a long time, and it has also been thoroughly investigated by social psychologists in the GDR. ("Social Psychology" by an authors' collective under the direction of Hans Hiebsch and Manfred Vorweg, VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften [German Scientific Publishing House], Berlin 1980).

In a less recent investigation (G. Vorweg, 1971) whose content has been reconfirmed again and again by subsequent investigations, the following have been given as the primary psychological requirements of a socialist director:

1. The ability to accomplish tasks of objective cooperation, 2. The ability to accomplish tasks of interpersonal cooperation, 3. Political-ideological maturity.

In his thought processes our fictional director has completely neglected the fact that his great plan can only be realized with the help of his colleagues and fellow workers. To be right is not enough. Convincing others of the validity of one's ideas is just as important. Our director must be able to influence his colleagues to such an extent that they accept the plan as their own.

The labor process, as always in our society, is only possible with cooperation. The theater is conceivable only as a cooperative effort, an artistic ensemble. But friction still reduces output, because known, objective, psychological requirements are neglected or ignored in the labor process as represented in the theater. Lack of awareness as to the requirements of a socialist director also produces the same result. One of the most frequently made mistakes is that people fail to recognize that interpersonal relationships occur not only on a factual level but also on an emotional level. According to the well-known anecdote, Eisler complained to Brecht that a certain individual was no longer speaking to him, although all he had done was tell him the truth. "How loud?" Brecht asked.

At this point an educational method comes into play which has been practiced for a number of years by those in leadership positions in numerous branches of GDR society--socialist behavioral training. Those exposed to this method gain active leadership experience in a relatively short period of time.

As opposed to traditional teaching methods, this special type of training activates and motivates the whole personality of the person involved, not so much by imparting knowledge but rather by providing mastery of certain abilities through regular training. Behavioral techniques which lead to successful leadership qualities are presented and learned. Therefore, "what" is not as important as "how" where leadership is concerned. Those involved in the training are exposed to very realistic situations which are based, whenever possible, on the participants' own experiences and always contain a potential social conflict. As a rule, two participants (or more) engage in role playing. Initially, both participants have dramatically opposed objectives. During the course of role playing each participant tries to prevail over the other to achieve his initial objectives or else they both compromise on a new objective.

In order to better explain the method, a sample of role playing is given below. Two participants are asked to play the roles of producer and head director. Depending on the group situation, the actions of one of the participants can be singled out for evaluation by the group. "There is a conflict between the directors and the other managers. Whenever a director wants to make changes for artistic reasons, the immediate reply is 'they don't know what they want.' The financial manager has a financial plan, the stage manager has a set schedule and the technical manager has too few people. Making any change would cause too much disruption. The head director has to talk his other directors and the actors out of every good idea presented during rehearsals because they

can't be realized anyway. How can a creative atmosphere develop in this situation? The head director goes to the producer."

The other participants observe the role playing and the actions of the person playing the head director. At its conclusion the entire group discusses the behavior of the person who played the head director, his strategy and his strengths and weaknesses. The role player receives a kind of immediate appraisal of his social behavior, called "feedback", to use the term from cybernetics. The role player's behavior can be evaluated either positively or negatively. Feedback is immediate, candid and direct. Unlike a real situation, no rumors, gossip, suspicions or misunderstandings occur.

Each participant in this group discussion draws on the social and leadership experiences which he has gained in our socialist society. Behavioral training is also a kind of exchange of experiences.

The training groups should include approximately 10 to 15 people. All participants have the same rights and obligations. Each participant has several opportunities to play a role and be evaluated, not always regarded as a pleasant situation at first. The trainer guides this process and steers it in the right direction. But he is not the all-knowing member of the group. The group develops its own yardstick for evaluation during the course of the training. This yardstick is applied individually, but also reflects the social experiences which have been gained in the social context of our nation.

To achieve the best results, socio-psychological behavioral training is conducted in an isolated school-like atmosphere and as a rule lasts 5 days. Lectures concerning psychological questions and problems related to leadership activities serve to stimulate and supplement the training. During the training each participant has the opportunity to meet privately with the trainer. Socio-psychological behavioral training may only be conducted by degreed psychologists who have received approval from the Psychological Society of the GDR.

The results of behavioral training are new insights on the part of the participants into the functioning of social relationships. They have gained experience in how they can direct their own behavior in order to produce an effect on the person they are communicating with. They have learned to react in what are really familiar situations to them, when the other person behaves unexpectedly. The nature and problems of interpersonal relationships are discussed extensively. They learn to recognize the rules of interpersonal communication and practice applying those rules during the training.

12552

CSO: 2300/376

GRASSROOTS ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE INTEREST GROUP FAIL

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 1, Jan 84 pp 68-76

[Article by Gabor Nogradi: "The Law and Reality"]

[Text] In the Ujpalota housing development in Budapest, about 15 to 20 residents proposed the formation of a neighborhood association. On 8 March 1983, the organizers wrote the district council a letter in which they requested permission to organize the association. In May, the Studio 83 program on TV discussed the objectives of the future association. The initiators put up posters announcing that the association's statutory meeting would be held on 2 June 1983. In its letter of 27 May, the district council's administrative section took cognizance of the notice of intent to form an association and requested the organizers to submit a copy of the association's by-laws. The organizers complied. On 30 May, the district council administration requested the organizers to postpone the statutory meeting. Because it was already too late and sufficient reason for postponement was lacking, the organizing committee refused. Practically all officials of the district council and of the district's public organizations appeared at the 2 June meeting.

The association still has not been formed since then.

In the following we present excerpts from what transpired at the statutory meeting.

1st Organizer: Actually our idea from the very beginning has been to form an association to improve our immediate environment and living conditions. Your presence here is due to the cooperation of a good many people living in this neighborhood. You should call them, or rather us, to account for what is happening here today. Let me say that the district administration is supporting these efforts and has provided proof of its support many times. Several senior officials of the district council are here among us, and we cordially welcome them. Yesterday I myself spoke with our council chairman, and he warmly approved of the idea of forming a neighborhood association. Later on, of course, we will have to discuss in detail in what ways we will be able to cooperate

with the district council. A fundamental standpoint of our organizing committee is that our association is not being formed in a vacuum, but in a social medium in which several sociopolitical organizations and state institutions are functioning. Naturally, the neighborhood association can be formed, and can exist if it is formed, only with due consideration for the work of these organizations and institutions, and for the purpose of aiding them. Under no circumstances can the neighborhood association be independent of them. Such an aspiration, incidentally, would neither be possible nor proper. But at the same time let me make it clear that such an association is autonomous. It governs itself on the principle of autonomy. I trust most of you have a copy of the proposed by-laws. Well, the by-laws are proof that the association will be autonomous . . . I must add that our association will commence to exist when the association's secretary submits the by-laws, work schedule, and minutes of the meeting to the district council's administrative section, for registration. The association becomes a separate legal entity when it is registered. I now move that we begin our discussion immediately of why the association is being formed, what it wants to do, and what suggestions have been made so far.

2d Organizer: I cannot promise to read every suggestion received, only to give you an approximate idea of the direction in which we wish to lead the association. Development, beautification and maintenance of the environment; conversion of the small woods into a wooded park, for rest, sports, play and cultural use. Installation of drinking fountains on the housing development's playgrounds, so that children will not have to take with them water in bottles from home. Conversion of the marketplace behind the market hall into a multiple-use covered area, for outdoor plays and meetings. Making playground furnishings in a woodworking camp. Holding a flower-planting week jointly with the PPF. Organizing a regular environmental-protection inspection. Displaying photographs of irregularities in the housing development's environment. Organizing an outdoor show of sculptures. Erecting a community Christmas tree. Care for the elderly. Organized baby-sitting. Publishing an association newspaper.

1st Woman: I must say that this to me is nothing new, because we already are doing all of it. This is the seventh year that we are living in the housing development, and it is we residents who are watering the lawn in front of our building and caring for the park. We even have spiked canes with which to pick up paper. We are visiting the elderly in our building regularly once a week. Two members of the tenants' committee have completed a course in home nursing. In other words, we have been doing all this for years. We just do not talk about it, but are doing it quietly. I do not know whether any of you have walked by our building. But come and see that there are few sections in Ujpalota as nice as ours. (Applause up front.)

PPF Secretary: Although I have not been invited to this meeting and do not even live in Ujpalota, I nevertheless had an impulse to come and explain my views. Regarding the intention to form a neighborhood association, my opinion is that all the legal grounds for forming the association exist. Its objectives are acceptable and worthy of support. Then what's my problem? The declared objectives are ones for which the representative organs and the district's public and political organizations have been working for years and even

decades, and not unsuccessfully. Let me cite as an example merely some of the tasks of the district's PPF. We are organizing voluntary work programs. Each spring and autumn, we are participating in the tree-planting drive. Likewise in the flower-planting drive. To foster our native language, we are organizing competitions in reciting prose and poetry. In cooperation with others, we have indeed sought out the housing development's elderly residents who are crippled or unable to take care of themselves and need social assistance. For environmental protection, we have organized environmental patrols by areas. In view of our extensive activity, I question the need in our district for another association that wants to fight essentially for the same objectives. When the PPF framework provides every opportunity for the parochialists, why do they want to duplicate us when they can work with us? (Loud applause up front.)

1st Man: I have been working with investments since my salad days. My misgivings are the following. You propose installing drinking fountains and toilets on the playground. But how much will this public project cost? Has anybody estimated the cost? And from what funds can this cost be covered? The council, I believe, has a five-year plan that allocates for, let us say, the most important things the financial resources available for the five-year period. Where would the money come from, and at whose expense? I merely ask this, ingenuously. Please don't misunderstand: I concur with the objective. But money is the main obstacle.

3d Organizer: I live in Ujpalota and I, too, am helping to organize the association. I have requested the floor merely because there have already been three speakers rooting against the association, and I would like to respond to them. (Interjection: These are facts! There is nobody here rooting against the association!) The first speaker boasted that they already are doing many of the things we are merely planning to do, and that few sections in Ujpalota are as nice and orderly as theirs. Well, there you are. We are gathered here today so that there may be even more such spots. The second speaker questioned the need for a new organization when the PPF was here and already doing these things. This brings to mind that a town-protecting association was formed not so long ago, and the formation of such associations has become a nationwide movement. And yet there is a committee for the protection of historic monuments, and a PPF, in every locality. But there was room for this association as well. In other words, I sense here a certain touchiness regarding possible competition, which you want to stamp out immediately. Well, this is not competition, and you should be glad that more people would like to be actively involved. (Clamor.) The listing we heard was very impressive. But so far no one has ever sought me out or found me, neither for a voluntary work project nor for shoveling. (Loud clamor.) And there are very few people like you, who are able to organize yourself and do what has to be done. The reason this organization is being formed is to shake up all those who merely grumble to themselves, and to their wives and friends, that they should organize some sort of drive. The third speaker said that investment resources were necessary. Of course, we do not intend to dig the ditches the day after tomorrow to install the plumbing. Incidentally, this is something the people have been begging for ten years at the briefings by council members. So far as the money is concerned, the housing development has 60,000 residents. The association can have any number of members who can pay dues or donate money for specific purposes. (Clamor.) In other words, there is no need to reallocate the council's

development fund that has been committed for five years in advance. If the people want to, they will put together the money. If they don't want to, then they will not. At worst, we will realize less of the association's program. Concerning the elderly, if every elderly person is being cared for in the housing development, then this is the land of milk and honey, and there is no need to do anything more. But perhaps this is not entirely so, because such humanitarian business work partnerships are being formed, and the government is encouraging their formation. In other words, efforts are being made to stimulate the people's activity in areas where it has already existed, but is inadequate or not effective enough. Instead of being glad that such associations are mushrooming, you are questioning the need already for the first one. My question is: Why only one, why not 50, 100 or 200? Thank you. (Applause.)

2d Man: As a council member, I regret that I have not received an invitation. (Interruption: No one did.) Instead, I found an invitation on a leaflet in the park. This is how I came to be here. I would like to tell you that ten years ago, when I moved here, Uncle Bela and I organized voluntary work. We went to the wooded park and did the very same work you have listed here. Here we have several public organizations that want to educate Ujpalota residents to be Rakospalota residents. Why is there now need for the Ujpalota residents to form a separate association? Do we perhaps want to secede from Rakospalota? And then I wonder whether the comrades who are the organizers attend the briefings by council members. If they do, then last month they could have seen the sweat pouring from the council members until 9:30 pm, if you please, as they tried to answer these questions, in the interest of the district's further progress. I, too, am fighting in the council's various committees to do more for the elderly, for example. But what need is there for another committee? What we need is not more committees, but more work. And what about the program declaration? Comrades, I am also deputy chairman of the 15/20 PPF. If I were to bring you our last year's program, it would be identical, word for word. Either the comrades somehow obtained a copy of our program . . . (Laughter.) I apologize. (Applause.) These are the very same tasks we wish to achieve. We are fighting for the same thing. Thank you, this is what I wanted to say. (Applause.)

3d Man: I have read the by-laws. They are very nice. I do not find anything objectionable in them. The only thing I would like to ask the comrades here present: What is new in them? Is there anything we have not already achieved? Well, we already have a party committee, from Comrade Kadar down to the district party secretary. We have a trade-union committee, a PPF committee, a Red Cross organization, a tenants' committee, and a spare-time center. They all are functioning and working to perform these tasks. Of course, nothing can be accomplished overnight. And now, may I ask: Why do we need a new association? Just to have one more? (Interrupted by applause.)

1st Organizer: Please, let us observe the rules of procedure.

3d Woman: I liked the introduction very much. I thought that, finally, we would get some support for our voluntary work. But I did not like the statement about rooting against the association. Another thing. It was said that you, too, are an Ujpalota resident. I do not know where you are living, but you certainly did not look at the notices at the entrance. For there was one

about voluntary public work. And nobody knocked on your door, but had you looked down, you would have seen us 60- to 80-year-olds toiling an entire month. And did you come to the briefings by council members? Were you there? That is the same thing. This is what voluntary public work means. This is the objective. I have worked on Ujpalota's behalf in the past, and will continue to do so in the future. It is all the same now. But now I say it is not all the same if such things are being said about rooting against the association. (Loud applause up front.)

4th Organizer: I live here in Rakospalota. (Interrupting shouts, clamor.) In other words, I live in the district, if not in Ujpalota itself. But my friends live here, and I like Ujpalota. I have been to many housing developments nicer than Ujpalota. (Clamor.) Tell me: Is Ujpalota nice? (Stormy assent.) Then I say that Ujpalota could be nicer. Am I right? I would like to do something to achieve this. (Interjection: We have been doing it for years!) So have I, participating in voluntary public work. (Interjection: In which projects?) I would be unable to list them all. (Clamor.) Let me finish! There are some people who did not participate in voluntary public work, but would have liked to. And many of you here . . . (Clamor.) Tell me, if a person finds only one bistro and it does not appeal to him, what does he do? He goes home to eat. But if there are three, he is able to choose. And he might enter one of them. But here you have only one. Why should there not be another one? Why should the people not organize another group to activize them? (Clamor. Brief applause.)

4th Man: I am in my 70th decade (sic!) and have been living here the past 10 years, but no one has ever asked me whether I would be willing to do something. And there is indeed much to be done in Ujpalota. Only, in my opinion, there are many qualified people, but few are responsible. But the point is not that we here should now form various groups. We have the professional organs, the council, and the PPF committees for this. But they should employ much better organizing methods than what I have experienced so far. (Applause up front.)

Senior Official for Social Policy: This program is very nice. But I would like to know whether you intend to implement it with us or without us. Why did you not take the trouble to ask us? We are able to solve care for the elderly only with the help of voluntary organizations: the Red Cross and the PPF. But if yet another organization is formed, we will be bogged down in coordination. I must admit that we do not reach every elderly person in need of assistance, and that is the fault of all of us here. I would advise these young men to come to us and let us work together. Let us not dissipate our efforts. (Applause.)

Writer: I am listening to this debate and am very saddened. There are perhaps 150 of us here, out of 60,000 residents, an insignificant minority. The other 59,000 and some either do not know about this meeting or are not interested in it. Perhaps they are not interested in anything. Why? I have been living here 10 years. At first we cleared away the rubbish around our building and did this and that. But today only one or two of the 56 housing-cooperative members are watering, and only three or four are cultivating their small gardens. The rest are not doing anything. Why? Because there is nobody to urge them. Someone here said that leaflets are placed in the mailboxes. I, too,

have received notices of briefings by council members. I went twice, but not this year, because so little has been done in the matters we have discussed so far. We cannot expect miracles of the council, which is operating under more and more difficult conditions, nor of the PPF. And this is why I am saddened. Because the comrades stood up and justifiably said: this already exists, we did this and we did that. Of course we did. If it runs in someone's blood to do something for the public good, he will do it. But let us think of those who are scattered about and manage very well without doing anything for the public good. And then there is this neighborhood association. Our people's republic has enacted a law allowing the population to form various associations because it expects them to liberate energies that up to now not even the gods have been able to place in motion. (Great applause.) The people have drawn into their shells. The district council or the PPF is unable to pry them out. But if a neighbor visits them and suggests that we do this or that, then perhaps there is hope. The by-laws want to grasp too much, and there is indeed much overlapping with other organizations. But we must realize that the by-laws have been drafted by ten persons during debates that extended into the early hours over a period of months. And how can we expect ten volunteers to achieve what entire apparatuses have been unable to do: to attract suitable people for participation in their work? (Applause, with interjections.) Thus if these by-laws are presented to me, then I must say that they are too extensive and cannot be adopted. But it would be very beneficial if a neighborhood association could be formed, under PPF auspices for that matter, one that could become the extended arm of the PPF, so to speak. (Applause.) Then it would be possible to combine the association with the district objectives, and to mobilize those people whom the PPF has been unable to reach through its own activists. (Loud applause.) Please think a bit constructively. Let us not throw out the baby with the bath water. For we would only be discouraging for their lifetime the organizers from voluntary work and would lose the people we could mobilize. In other words, say what can be done, and not what cannot be done. (Applause.)

District Council Deputy Chairman: I too did not receive an official invitation to today's meeting, but learned about it from other channels and, subsequently through individual efforts, about its subject matter. I felt that I was coming to an important meeting of my neighborhood, at which a few or many people would discuss ways to make our environment nicer, wiser and more meaningful. We ourselves are dissatisfied with the effect of our activity, and also with the behavior of Ujpalota residents in the sense that by no means few of them are indifferent, while a minority appears to be generating reverse steam and to be rejecting the socialist moral code in every respect. Even though we argue, I am glad when we exchange views on what we are doing, how many of us, with whom, where and when. This also implies that I, as a private citizen and in my official capacity as well, am always willing to extend a friendly hand to anyone, even if he might have difficulty in expressing his aspirations and objectives accurately. It seems that even the esteemed organizing committee is not entirely free of such difficulty. I believe that some officials responsible for this area think that their work might perhaps be underrated if its criticism is not based on an objective approach, and probably this led many of them to explain also in terms of results the questions that otherwise might get an extremely unfavorable assessment. I suspect that not even I will be an exception

in this respect. Thus the council and other organizations have already launched definite efforts to solve some of the issues that the organizing committee has outlined in its program. With due respect, I would like to remind the comrades that our socialist state and social system unambiguously assigns certain questions and tasks to specific agencies, making them responsible for the given area. And if I want to make improvements, then I must first discuss them with the agency that is responsible. Nobody has come to me or to the council's administration with such an initiative. Nor to anyone else, as I gather from today's discussion and some preliminary consultations. And, let us say frankly, this could be the case of the cross-eyed butcher [criticism seemingly of one thing, but aimed at something else]. To my mind, today's meeting has not offered a clear work program. It would be expedient to prepare a new, shorter work program, one that would make the association's aspirations, the connections and areas of cooperation clearer also to the state and public organs and would eliminate unnecessary duplications. I also dare suggest, comrades, that your aspirations should perhaps be geared more closely to the official objectives and efforts, for which money and resources are available and could be used to realize these aspirations as well. In conclusion I wish to suggest that it might be expedient to instruct the organizing committee, perhaps an enlarged one, to make the modifications and corrections that I and others have recommended, so that we can come up with a clearer, more goal-oriented and more acceptable program. For I can see even without any organizing effort, merely from the contributions to the debate, that the scale is tipping in that direction. Which, of course, is for someone else to determine. (Loud applause.)

1st Organizer: Comrade Deputy Chairman, we thank you for your contribution. Let me point out immediately that some questions of fact also have arisen here. With your permission, I will offer a few words of explanation after the debate.

5th Man: I happened to see the announcement and have come to the meeting. Well, you must take into consideration that the speakers before me, to put it mildly, were professionals who had all the facts and figures at their disposal. But I am merely a retiree. I too am saddened, and that's the truth. A germ of an idea is emerging here, and the attempts to crush it have been simply shocking. I believe that mostly the workers of the council apparatus are sitting on this side, and the PPF activists on that side. One can clearly conclude this from the applause. I would like to say that if somebody starts something and we see his intention to improve things, then we should lend him a helping hand, instead of immediately beginning to see what he is unable to do. (Interrupting shouts.) I would like to state my opinion if you are willing to listen to me. Yes, because some of the speakers before me spoke at length . . . (Clamor.)

1st Organizer: Comrades, let the speaker continue!

5th Man: Well, a statutory meeting is attended mostly by those who want to participate in the association's work. But if this is a statutory meeting, then why are the people here who do not want the association? The organizers' first steps are faltering. There are experts here who are able to judge this, and we must accept their opinion. But the tone in which they attempted to pass judgment at the very beginning is, in my opinion, clearly objectionable.

It is nonsensical for someone to fear the loss of his prestige because an association is being formed whose objectives partially overlap with the work this person must do as a paid revolutionary or volunteer. Why is the association necessary? Because there is a demand for it. Because there are gaps, in voluntary work and in the work of the apparatuses as well, that cannot be filled, for financial or organizational reasons. And if the work of the association proves useless because it is unable to either mobilize or change anything, then so be it. But until then I find it objectionable to kill such an initiative in its germ. (Loud applause.)

6th Man: I am a member of the PPF presidium. I read the leaflet, and it clearly overlaps with what the environmental-protection, the economic-policy and the municipal-policy work groups are doing under my direction. The work done in this country must conform to a plan. For example, Budapest's long-range concept of environmental protection is ready, and the association's program is unworkable, considering merely the breakdown for the district and the comments of the PPF. And one thing more. These days, when ministries and agencies at the intermediate level are being merged in the interest of more efficient operation, it provides food for thought that in the area of voluntary work we are dissipating our efforts. Not to mention the additional paperwork that this involves, for the PPF and the district council as well. Please consider what I have said. (Applause.)

7th Man: I like the fact that the persons who want to form this association are all young men. But do they expect to do voluntary work and also to pay membership dues? What would be the advantage of doing that? I hardly believe that this will succeed under the present circumstances. Nevertheless I regard this initiative as very positive. Not the formation of an association, but the fact that young men want to do something. As an elder person, of course, I would have preferred to see these young men join the PPF and offer it their organizing ability, if they have any. And when they draft a program, they should not expropriate the activity of either the PPF or the Red Cross. (Applause.)

2d Organizer: (Objections to his requesting the floor the second time.) I did not contribute to the debate, but merely listed the proposals that have been received. Well, many people are saying that the housing development is a bedroom community, and that it is not possible to live here. And I say that we have to. And when the idea of forming an association arose, one must see it by all means as a positive force. In my opinion, no one can dispute this. And so far as my past voluntary work is concerned, Madam, you might not have seen me on the street and I might not have looked down on you, because just then I might have been shoveling sand on the playground or painting the fence. Now, if I am linking up with the PPF's affairs through the association, then I too am linking up with them. And that's all there is to it. Perhaps the Budapest administration has not responded as yet to the Ujpalota initiative, but the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic has. It enacted the law on associations. The party and the PPF should not take offense, but I consider them aggregates of the people in them, in a mathematical sense of course. And in what respect does the association differ from them? In that the members' place of residence, their most important determining factor, is common. And another thing. Someone said that the central and intermediate

agencies are merging, and we too should not be dissipating our efforts. But there has been another process as well during the past 18 months. Small businesses have been formed. And I contend that you are using them. You take a private taxi, one operated by a business work partnership, and are satisfied. Yet, neither the Budapest Taxi Enterprise nor the Volan Trust has ceased. In other words, we are dismantling the dominance of the monopolies. Among the 150 people here present there are about 100 activists who have already been working in the housing development. For the time being I will leave aside the question of whether or not these 100 people are here by accident, but I have a certain feeling about this, based on the applause. Even over the radio you can sense when the studio lights go on calling, respectively, for applause and laughter from the studio audience. There is a certain degree of organization here. No matter, let there be. But I merely wish to request you that if you feel you are representing the opinion of the 65,000 people . . . (Shouts: Speak for yourself!) If you are not representing the opinion of the 65,000 people . . . (Shouts: Who is vegetating in Ujpalota? We are not vegetating! If you want to work, go to the PPF!) . . . you should feel that responsibility when you are voting. Naturally, relations with the PPF must be considered, and all their constructive criticism must be accepted. But I do not approve of the intrigues and of the objections to yet another organization. (Indignation.) It is up to you to vote and decide. (Interjection: Does the 2d Organizer live here?) Yes Mam, I do, at 28 Gyula Hevesi Street, 5th floor. You see, you are again looking at where I have been assigned an apartment. The essential thing is not that, but where is the hoe or spade. I want to work! (Whistling, applause.)

1st Organizer: Dear fellow residents. One last motion before we close the debate. (Interjections: Close it! Let us vote!) Who votes for closure? (Loud clamor.) I move that we hear our deputy. How about it? (Interjection: Hear, hear! Applause.)

Deputy: Dear constituents. (Uproar. The speaker tries to make himself heard by shouting.) I might begin the way many of the other speakers have, by saying that I did not receive an official invitation. The fact that I am here in my district proves that I am interested in what is happening, to the extent that my time and ability allow. On this occasion I was particularly thrilled because I heard that the young people were proposing something nice, a noble cause. Youths are the promise of Hungary's future. These are not mere words, but my firm conviction. And wherever young people appear, I go to note what they are saying, whether they are saying what I want to hear them say, and are they saying it the way I like. I believe that many sensible things have been said here. Collaboration is important. It was the Romans and not we who coined the phrase: "Strength in unity, and the future in strength." This is what I would like to call to the attention of the young people. I am an old engineer and had to do great things in difficult times, thirty and some years ago. I could tell you many things about organization. It would be a grave mistake not to utilize the forces that have now emerged. We must harness this new will, and I have confidence in these young people. They have presented themselves with honest intentions, and not for their own advancement. I came here with this criticized program in the firm conviction that they want to work. And if this is true, then I sincerely believe that the organizing committee will agree with our esteemed district administration. And although my

duty is to represent the district's interests primarily on the national level and not here in the district, I am rooting for this. And I refer to Comrade Kadar, the first secretary of the party and an honest person, who said that we should concern ourselves primarily with national issues. Thus when I take the time to come here, I do so to get closer to the grassroots. To gather information so that I may be able to argue more boldly there, for more kindergartens, playgrounds, higher pensions, and more of many other things, when the world is experiencing very difficult times. We must perceive not the display of tempers and the jeering, but the positive aspects of what is being said, what unites us for the common cause. There must be no dissention among us. I have traveled fairly widely abroad. I have been to big cities and have seen Stockholm, parts of New York, and also Rome and Paris. In comparison to them, disorderly Ujpalota is a shining ballroom. Let us be proud of it. For anyone who is unable to be proud of what his people, he himself, the elderly, and his parents and grandparents have produced does not deserve to be called a human being. But let me tell you about some other experience. I live in the first district, on Castle Hill, the heart of the nation and of the capital. But I am able to compare the administration and the district council here with the ones there, where I have worked for 30 years. And Ujpalota bears comparison in terms of decency, honor and human behavior. I am independent in this respect and can safely say this. (Loud applause.)

1st Organizer: Dear fellow residents. If I may impose a bit more on your patience, there are a few specific issues to which I feel obliged to respond on behalf of the people who have proposed the formation of this neighborhood association. First of all, let us talk about the facts. It has been said that actually this is the initiative of a few well-meaning young people. So far as age is concerned, I am 35. Decide for yourselves whether I am young or middle-aged. But Jozsef Sz., who is 70, was among us as well. As many of you know, he had been Ujpalota's first party secretary. Why he is not here today, I do not know. It is his right to decide whether to come or not to come. But I could mention also others who are past their thirties and forties. I beg you not to classify us in this manner. For to say "well-meaning young people" in this country today means approximately "poor idiots, let us leave them alone." (Shouts of protest.) That was one thing. Another thing is the charge that we are not consulting any official or official organ. Please note that ten Ujpalota residents signed a letter on 8 March 1983 and sent it to the council, announcing their intention to form an association. Because the law requires this. In this letter we outlined more or less the same objectives that you were kind enough to debate here. I estimate that the letter must have arrived on 10 March. Thereafter I received the following letter, dated 27 May or only six days ago, signed by the chief of the district council's administrative group (I did not want to bring this up, but I am compelled to set the facts right): "We have taken cognizance of your announced intention to form a local cultural association. We request that you submit the draft of the by-laws, before the statutory meeting, etc." The only reason I have brought up this letter is because I do not want you to believe that we did not think of consulting the local council! We thought that the local council would handle appropriately our notice of intent to form an association. They did handle it appropriately, 2.5 months later. Meanwhile we felt that we should not wait, because legally the absence of a reply meant tacit approval, and it would be

better if the association started to function within the prescribed legal framework as soon as possible. We have met all the legal requirements to this end. There are three lawyers in the organizing committee. So far as subsequent events are concerned, officials of one of the PPF area organizations in Ujpalota were present at several meetings of the organizing committee. On these occasions it was discussed in detail what the PPF and the other organizations were doing, and how we could cooperate, complementing one another. Of course, this was not official coordination and could not have been, because the association did not yet exist. Discussions with the PPF secretary likewise would have been premature. (Clamor. Interjection: Let us stop or we will never get home!) There is one thing we should agree on. For I see that some of you are impatient to get home, and others are impatient to stay. I move the following. Since there is no sense in letting a nascent association divide the residents of Ujpalota, not even the ones who are here, I move that those present instruct the preparatory committee to consult with the appropriate organizations. Let it prepare a working document that meets with your approval, and publish it here in Ujpalota. Thereafter let us reconvene this meeting (approval) and decide whether or not to form an association. Do you agree? (Loud applause, approval). Then I thank you very much.

7th Man: Just a moment! Let us vote for something else! I move that we instruct this association, the organizing committee, to establish contact with the PPF and discuss (clamor) how it could help the PPF's work. (Approval, applause.) What we want is not to form an association, but the PPF . . . (Clamor, shouting.)

1st Organizer: More than a third of those present are here because they want to form an association. Am I right? (Interjection: Wrong!) We distributed an appeal in Ujpalota. Many persons tore off the application form and sent it in. This can be verified, and we are able to show the forms. These people, then, feel that an association is justified. Therefore what I am saying now is not how we could help the PPF from within it, but that a working document be prepared, with everyone's participation, and be presented to you. Do you agree? (Approval.) Then I thank . . . (Loud clamor. Shouts: Who decided? Who raised his hand? You haven't the faintest idea about procedure! They want to do this for money! Confusion.)

District Council Deputy Chairman: I have not had my say, and it appears that others have not had theirs either. You presented a motion, but there were also other ideas. After consulting others, I presented a supplementary motion to enlarge the preparatory committee, if those present so decide. You have neglected to put this motion to a vote. I requested you in my official capacity and also as an Ujpalota resident. The request in my official capacity is binding to some extent. And allow me to nominate two members and an employee of the district council. (Lists names. Clamor.)

District Council Secretary: It is perhaps unnecessary to say that I likewise have not received an invitation to this meeting. (Interjection: Nobody received one. The announcement was posted in Ujpalota.) But as a council official, I too have come. It is indeed true that the legal formalities for forming an association have been observed, and a notice of intent was sent to the council. The administrative section set it aside, expecting that you would be

coming for consultations. (Interjection: Why? They did not even bother to reply!) We did not find anything that should be prohibited. These objectives agree with the goals of our social policy. But it is an entirely different question that I, too, find the formation of a separate association unnecessary for the realization of these objectives. We regard it as division of the already scarce volunteers. This is my opinion. But legally the matter is in order. It practically matches word for word the text of the law on associations. Thus there is nothing illegal that anyone can't accept. (Applause.)

1st Organizer: If I understood the motions correctly, they call for setting up a preparatory committee. Is that correct? (Interjection: Say whether you want to do it for pay or as voluntary work!) Look, I think it will be best if nobody attempts to terrorize the others. I myself do not want to influence anybody in any way, because my task now is to ensure normal, dignified procedures, regardless of whether there will be an association or not. Thus we have the ten people, plus the three whom the comrade deputy chairman nominated. Who votes for these 13 names? (Clamor.) Those who do not want an association, please refrain from voting. (Clamor.) Who is against? The overwhelming majority has voted for. Thus we have agreed that the preparatory committee will draft a new working document, after which we will again discuss the matter. Thank you.

1014

CSO: 2500/285

TENSIONS OVER ENTERPRISE RELATED PRIVATE INCOME NOTED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Judit Kozma: "It Is Not the Mirror That Is Faulty"]

[Text] "The issue of the business work partnerships in the enterprises stirs more controversy than their importance and weight justifies" said one of the participants at last Wednesday's meeting of the Presidium of the Chemists' Trade Union. The debate on that meeting was a graphic demonstration of the correctness of this statement. All this cannot surprise since these small working units, which have been organized during the last couple of years, eliminated greater causes of tension than their size and importance would warrant, but they also provoked more important ones.

In the chemical industry more than 5,000 persons are working in 500 business work partnerships. The distribution of these units among enterprises is very erratic. Only six percent of the workers in this industry participate in these partnerships and earn additional income. Their majority is involved in the areas of maintenance, services and technological development, but lately a growing number of them works also in the production sector.

Their activities were positively evaluated during the mentioned debate, since their mobility and undertaking spirit created possibilities in many enterprises for an increase in production, for compliance with unexpected export orders and for the elimination of such outside contractors whose work was more expensive and of lower quality. They thereby paved the way for a decrease in expenditures. It is, of course, another question, and this is also a hard test of the effectiveness of the trade unions work, how much of all this is known to the workers' collective and how far do the workers in the factory appreciate the advantages brought about by the business partnerships' activities.

However, everybody realizes that more work yields more income. According to the records of the Central Statistical Office, members of the business work partnerships in the chemical industry earned in 1983 an average of 2,000 forints more per month than the other workers. The records of individual enterprises are, of course, quite variable; they range from 2,000 to 10,000 forints. But, for example, the partnership that earned 10,000 forints, aside from doing the job significantly cheaper than a subcontractor would have done, worked 16-18 hours on a few weekends and made 5-6 hours daily overtime in order to obtain this conspicuous income. But another question is when will they again obtain

such an important task. Thus statistics are misleading and on such a basis it would be difficult to justly assess the chances of the business partnerships to earn additional income.

Of course the tensions are not motivated by statistical data but rather by personal experiences: for example, by the fact that the hourly wage during regular worktime is 30 forints, while business partnerships are earning 80 forints per hour for the same job. That this increase in earnings is justified since it rewards a more intensive work, is easy to accept as long as the possibility of forming such units is open to everybody who wants and is able to do so. But as soon as such special tasks are running short and future prospects become limited, public opinion in the enterprise becomes discontented about such differences in income.

That all this elicits controversy goes without saying. And it is no wonder that such discussions are not exempt of passions. After all, the proper balance between the work done and the wages paid for is one of the key questions of our national economy. But such discussions are ultimately qualified by the place and the circle in which the discussants are looking for a solution, i.e., for a possibility to eliminate the tensions caused by the business partnerships in the enterprises.

For experience shows that these business-work partnerships did not create, but only unveiled and reflected those contradictions which currently hamper industrial management. Therefore, we cannot look for a solution of the problems within these small undertakings alone, and cannot disregard both the performance and the corresponding income earned during regular worktime, let alone the economic environment that influences the flexibility and undertaking spirit of the enterprises.

12312

CSO: 2500/302

RESULTS OF PIOTRKOW TRYBUNALSKI REPORTS-ELECTION CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Teresa Grabczynska and Anna Pawlowska: "Party Strength On the Rise in Piotrkow"]

[Excerpt] The reports of the executive board of the retiring provincial committee, delivered by First Secretary Stanislaw Kolas, dealt mainly with intraparty and ideological-educational problems. The Piotrkow Province organization, represented at the conference by 258 delegates (only 3 were unjustifiably absent), now numbers 40,544 members. It is at their instance it was possible to include in the report the opinion that the party's strength is on the rise.

Participants in the conference were Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski; Vice Chairman of the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP] Grazyna Kotnowska; member of the presidium of the Central Audit Commission [CKR] Tadeusz Ferc, as well as a member of the local organization, a delegate from the Wistom Plant in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Tadeusz Dziekan, director of the Cadre Department of the Central Committee. The minister of mining and energy, Czeslaw Piotrowski, was also present.

Workers make up 41.3 percent of the membership of the Piotrkow party organization, and in three centers their participation exceeds 50 percent. These are an old, industrial town of textile workers and chemists, Tomaszow Mazowiecki, the workers' gmina Moszczenica, and the pride and simultaneously the worry of the province, the largest investment today in Poland: Belchatow, the lignite mining and energy plant. Private farmers comprise 11.8 percent of the party membership, but in 10 gminas they constitute over one-half of the party members. Unfortunately, in this province likewise the social makeup of the delegates at the conference did not properly reflect the structures of the party--in which only 16 percent of the members are workers and 8.5 percent peasants. One hundred and three delegates received their mandate for the second time.

The election commission announced the candidacy of Stanislaw Kolas, chosen as a delegate at the city conference in Piotrkow, for the position of first secretary of the provincial committee [KW].

Henryk Bednarski relayed to the delegates the Politburo's recommendation of this same candidate along with a high appreciation of the entire Piotrkow Province organization and its leaders, all the secretaries of the KW.

In a secret vote Stanislaw Kolas received the support of 249 delegates out of the total of 253 who voted.

An appreciable though moderate improvement in the life of the people in the region, quite good results in certain sectors of farm production and somewhat better functioning in trade and services, the development of house building--these are the basic conditions which testify to a gradual recovery from the crisis. Nothing was accomplished spontaneously--rather these things have been the consequence of conscious actions harmonized with the efforts of Piotrkow Province, emphasized the governor, Wlozimirz Stefanski. These achievements were possible thanks to the active participation of citizens in the formulation of proposals which constitute the groundwork for the economic projects undertaken by the administration.

Tadeusz Bawarski, a foreman from the Belchatow power, among others, spoke about the need for the development of anti-import production, about the assurance of such circumstances for staff that the output of their work could increase in a significant way. Likewise, 1984 has set a fair-sized task before the plant's staff: the transference of two energy blocks, each with 360 megawatts of power. Yet the essential social affairs of a thousand young workers could not disappear from our scope of attention.

The problems of Belchatow--the industrial showpiece of the region--did not obscure the matter of agriculture in the discussions. In the opinion of Marian Olozyk, from the village of Dmenin, farming service needs improvement generally. How, for example, he asked, can contracts between farmers and the government for agricultural products follow their normal course when in the past a car would come to the farmers' place and the sale of cattle would be carried out efficiently right on the spot? This practice has been discontinued now: instead of being helped along, life is only becoming more and more difficult for farmers.

The concern of many delegates raised the level of learning and education in the province. Cases of children attending school in three shifts, of troubles with conveyance to school, have not been rare. Will the return of 480 new pre-school places and the building of 14 school buildings this year alleviate current difficulties somewhat? Czeslaw Karewicz, the director of the gmina school in Moszczenica, called attention to the need for revaluation of the educational model.

During the conference there were indications that the activities undertaken by the party testify to the solidifying strength of the organizations and echelons of the PZPR.

"However," pointed out Wlodimierz Kowalski, first secretary of the Pioma factory, "as in the past, there is a great deal of incoherence and weakness in political work. Do orderliness and pertinacity in the implementation of party

resolutions accompany the everyday, arduous work whose goal is the recovery of party authority and restoration of ties with society? After all, without this we will not attain our intended goals." Also, he asked whether it is fair, from the point of view of social justice, that people whose source of livelihood is not professional work should benefit from the protective role of the state and from every sort of grant and monetary aid.

A great many of the remarks and proposals which fell during the discussion concerned inadequate medical care, the insufficiency of hospital base operations, and the development of a restrictive preventive-health treatment. "Suitable centers must be found," suggested Marek Pilch, deputy director of the Joint Provincial Hospital, "for these needs. In a count of hospital beds available to 10,000 inhabitants, our region has the lowest rates in the nation. The diagnostic base is inadequate: neither work conditions nor wages encourage people to seek employment with us. The building of a new hospital on the peripheries of the province rather than in its capital likewise arouses my doubts."

This position met with an immediate riposte from the representatives of "these peripheries"; even the moderator of the conference, Pawel Kaminski, a forest inspector from Radomsk, did not restrain himself.

The Speech of Comrade H. Bednarski

"A condition for strengthening the working character of the party is the increase of the working class's participation in the party's structures and its leadership. What decides this character above all, however, is the party's ability to represent the workers' interests and goals and to solve their problems. It is a question of having the workers in our party speak in their own voice about their own and national affairs, and exert a direct, conclusive class influence on the decisions undertaken by the party.

"The party treats society's state of consciousness with the utmost regard. This state is undergoing an improvement: the most radical states of mind and stances are being overcome, the influence of antisocialist demagoguery has weakened. But this does not free the party from an obligation to struggle further for the hearts and minds of the people, the young ones in particular. This requires setting into motion all the powers of our educational front in at least three areas.

"The first area is the education of historical consciousness, because intelligent, sober relations to the national past can be the source of creative, committed social stances and because precisely historical consciousness was the ground of an exceptionally devastating attack by the forces of antisocialism. The second stage of shaping social consciousness is the education of citizens' opinions in rightful political culture in relation to a socialist state. The third such area is economic education, the comprehension of the rights and mechanics of economic life, and also an understanding of the role played by the people's activists and the workers' self-government in this life.

"In work with young people--as the last session of the Politburo emphasized--one cannot stop at today's perspective. It is necessary to help the young people prepare to be equal to the challenge which the country will face, namely, whether it can develop according to the varying aspirations of its people. For such a perspective the party ought to win over the young people.

"The ideological war with the enemy, the war over social consciousness, is perpetual. It is waged not in academic circles but in workshops, in everyday life. Party members cannot occupy defensive positions in this war. But offensive positions require knowledge, familiarity with Marxism-Leninism, and an understanding of the party line."

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RESULTS OF OLSZTYN PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Account of Proceedings

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 16 Jan 84 pp 1,3

[Unsigned report: "Lead and Serve the Working People: Deliberations of the 19th Olsztyn Province PZPR Reports-Elections Conference"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(Own service) Punctually at 2100 hours on Saturday 14 [January 1984], Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee, inaugurated the deliberations of the 19th Province Reports-Elections Conference, whose task was to sum up the past term of office of the province party organization and to nominate and elect new officers of that organization./

The deliberations were attended by the following [special guests]: Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and delegate of the Olsztyn PKP [Polish State Railroads] Hub; Wacław Skoczylas, deputy chairman of the Central Audit Commission (CKR); Gen Henryk Kondas, member of the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission (CKKP); Michał Atlas, director of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee; and Central Committee members from Olsztyn Province, delegates to the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress and worker movement veterans.

The invited guests included: Wincenty Stelmaczonek, chairman of the Province ZSL [United Peasant Party] Committee; Anna Kochanowska, chairperson of the Province SD [Democratic Party] Committee; Władysław Ogrodzinski, chairman of the Province PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Council; Sergiusz Rubczewski, Olsztyn Province governor, and deputy province governors.

The unanimously elected chairpersons of the conference were Marian Ceynowa, delegate from Ostroda, and Jan Smolinski, delegate from the Olsztyn PKP Hub. After the members of the [conference] presidium took their seats, the agenda of the conference was accepted and the Mandate, Recommendations, and Elections commissions were elected and immediately started work.

Let us offer the reminder that most of the items on the agenda had been discussed during pre-conference consultation meetings in individual regions of party work. Hence their acceptance and confirmation was by now a mere formality, although the agenda was accepted in the presence of one opposing vote.

Next, the floor was taken by Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Province PZPR Committee. The text of his report is published on p 3 of this newspaper.

Following his speech, the protocol of the Mandate Commission was presented. Of the 350 elected delegates, 341 were present. The class composition of the delegates was: 89 workers (including 12 farm workers), 30 peasants and 200 white-collar workers. It should be added that 293 of the delegates present were elected to the province conference for the first time.

After that, in accordance with the agenda, the elections of the first secretary of the Province Committee were begun. Zygmunt Kalisz, the chairman of the Election Commission and delegate from Ketrzyn, nominated comrade Jan Laskowski as a candidate to the post of first secretary of the Province Committee. On behalf of the Politburo, Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, secretary of the Central Committee, repeated his recommendation of the incumbent first secretary comrade Jan Laskowski for re-election to the office.

Edward Bauknecht, director of the Experimental Plant Breeding and Acclimatization Center in Bartazek, was nominated from the floor. Comrade Bauknecht expressed his acceptance of the nomination. At the same time, he asked to be allowed to take the floor prior to the voting. As there were no further nominations, the list of candidates to the post of first secretary was closed. A ballot commission was elected.

The discussion began. The first to take the floor was Sergiusz Rubczewski, Olsztyn Province Governor, who presented an assessment of the province's situation and its short-term economic goals. The delegates listened with great interest to the results of the elections to the first secretary of the Province Committee. The chairman of the polling commission announced that comrade Jan Laskowski received 203 of the 336 valid votes and comrade Edward Bauknecht 120, and that comrade Jan Laskowski was re-elected first secretary of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee. Congratulations were offered.

It was now possible to begin elections of members and candidate members of the Province Committee as well as of the Province Audit Commission (WKR) and the Province Party Control Commission (WKKP). Following the elections, the discussion was resumed. The floor was taken by Wincenty Stelmaczek, chairman of the Province ZSL Committee, and Anna Kochanowska, chairperson of the Province SD Committee, who conveyed greetings to delegates and discussed joint activities with the PZPR. Altogether, 32 persons took part in the discussion and 11 more deposited their comments for the record in the minutes of the conference. In the discussion the floor was also taken by Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, secretary of the Central Committee. (W. Mokrzyszczak's speech is published on p 4 of this newspaper.)

The conference chairman read a telegram dispatched by comrades from Kaliningrad, which was worded as follows:

"Dear Comrades! The delegates of the 18th Oblast Party Conference in Kalinin convey to you their fraternal communist greetings. We wish the delegates to your conference and all communists successes in work, in improving the activities of party organizations in the province, and in accomplishing the tasks of socialist construction. Long live Marxism-Leninism and the ceaselessly alive internationalist science! May fraternal relations among parties, states and peoples develop and strengthen. Signed: Presidium of the 18th Kaliningrad Oblast Party Conference."

As early as at 1900 hours the ballot commission announced the election results. Altogether, 97 members and 29 candidate members of the Province Committee were elected (the roster of their names is published separately). In addition, 35 members of the Province Audit Commission were elected. Wlodzimierz Lewicki was re-elected chairman of its 7-member presidium. The newly elected members of the Province Party Control Commission also number 35 and Mieczyslaw Kubicki was re-elected its chairman. Krystyna Swiderska and Mikolaj Malachowicz were elected the commission's deputy chairpersons.

The elected members and candidate members of the Province Committee met at their first plenary session, under the chairmanship of first secretary Jan Laskowski. During that session the Executive Board and secretaries of the Province Committee were elected. The latter are: Tadeusz Jelski, Jan Malinowski, Grzegorz Nowicki and Leszek Stankiewicz.

The Recommendations Commission proposed to the conference that it adopt the following three documents as its results: the resolution of the 19th Province Reports-Elections Conference, the program of action of the province party organization for the years 1984-1986, and the list of recommendations. These documents were accepted by the delegates and will represent guidelines for action during the new term of office.

Closing the conference, Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Province Committee, declared, among other things, that:

"We represent one party and constitute the aktiv of one party. We face an immensity of tasks and, if we want to accomplish them properly, we must constitute a genuinely cohesive force, a force that concentrates itself on basic issues. The question of the party's unity, not only in theory but also in practical action, is in principle decisive to everything--to our successes and failures." He also recalled the need to take a definite party-minded position on the question of the trade-union movement. He declared: "Resolutions alone are not sufficient: one has to implement them by personal example."

In conclusion, he stressed that if we want to be strong, if we want to lead well, if we want to serve the working people well, each party member must adhere to a party-minded attitude day by day at his post. The program of

action that was voted upon today will enrich life, which also will be enriched by the actions of the Central Committee and every party element. But we need consistency if not tenacity in implementing the tasks posed to ourselves. And we should bear this in mind on parting from this conference.

The first secretary of the Province Committee closed the deliberations on thanking the delegates and organizers for the efficient organization and course of the conference. The 19th Province Reports-Elections Conference in Olsztyn ended with singing "The Internationale."

New Executive Board

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 16 Jan 84 p 1

[Report: "Newly Elected Officers of the PZPR Province Committee"]

[Text] Members of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee:

Jan Laskowski, incumbent first secretary of the Province Committee;

Tadeusz Jelski, incumbent secretary of the Province Committee;

Jan Malinowski, incumbent secretary of the Province Committee;

Grzegorz Nowicki, incumbent secretary of the Province Committee;

Leszek Stankiewicz, secretary of the Province Committee, heretofore director of the Science, Culture and Education Department of the Province Committee;

Marian Badosz, chairman of the Olsztyn SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA (Peasant Self-Help) Province Union of Agricultural Cooperatives;

Waclaw Dobrzanski, carpenter at the sawmill in Biskupiec;

Jerzy Dowgwillowicz, chairman of the Board of the Agricultural Producer Cooperative in Tyrow;

Kazimierz Dudek, commandant of the Olsztyn Province Office of Internal Affairs;

Stanislaw Golebiowski, farmer of Nowa Wies Wielka;

Kazimierz Jakubek, brigade leader at the Olsztyn OZOS (Olsztyn Tire Plant);

Czeslaw Kozlowski, director of the Skandawa State Farm;

Edmund Michalski, director of the Lubawa State Farm;

Edmund Pokolski, director of the Postgraduate Preschool Teacher Training Center in Szczytno;

Stefan Strumillo, first secretary of the Olsztyn City PZPR Committee;
Henryk Swiecicki, chief of the Province Military Headquarters in Olsztyn;
Jerzy Strzezek, professor at the Olsztyn Agricultural-Technical Academy;
Barbara Warakomska, seamstress at the MORENA Knitwear Industry Works in
Bartoszyce.

Laskowski Speech

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 16 Jan 84 p 3

["Report of Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

/It is our statutory duty to assess the performance of the province party organization and outline its tasks for the new term of office./

Comrades, you were provided with briefing materials and the draft program of action. Regional meetings of delegates were held. We expect that in the discussion to follow you will add to these evaluations and recommendations. We believe that the evaluation of the road traveled should be complete and balanced, reflecting both accomplishments and negative phenomena and pointing to both factors of progress and improvement and weaknesses and shortcomings. In implementing this task we made another step forward toward strengthening the party and enhancing the efficacy of our actions. This is indispensable to the correct progress of the province.

The question arises: what criterion should be used to measure our accomplishments and goals? Which tasks should be considered most important? How can the tasks of the historic 9th Congress and the successive plenary sessions of the Central Committee be effectively implemented? We are past an unusually difficult period. It was a period of struggle to preserve socialism, to preserve the party's ideological-political and organizational unity, to preserve its ability to act and to regain the trust of the working people. The period we are assessing has not been consistent: it consisted of various stages and had specific forms.

It was a time of critical assessments of our mistakes and deformations. It was a time of demagoguery, but it also was a time of exploration of program solutions, exploration of safeguards for the party's renaissance, safeguards for the socialist renewal, safeguards for reforms of the economy and public life. The 9th Congress fulfilled the expectations of party members and society. The political enemy perceived in its resolutions a danger to his aims. The extremists of Solidarity initiated in our province as well a number of actions such as: strikes at the Olsztyn Typographical Works and the WSP [expansion unknown], protest actions, "hunger marches," a tax boycott among

farmers, the picketing of plants, declarations of virtually permanent "strike alerts," and many others.

These actions, although aggressive and thoroughly engineered as regards their course and the nature of anti-socialist political postulates, did not meet with as wide a public response as had been counted upon by the enemy. These facts affected the socio-political situation in which the party's elements in the province had to operate. We were internally weakened. Disappointed and embittered individuals resigned from the party. Trends toward "repairing" the party by means of revisions of certain ideological and systemic principles had arisen, along with trends toward a compromise with the political enemy. Views and ideas alien to our party were often packaged in demagogic and pseudo-patriotic slogans. Hence it was not surprising that they also became reflected within our ranks, the more so because in the past the party had neglected ideological work and especially the class analysis of social phenomena. For this reason, too, the question was often asked: "Where are those anti-socialist forces?" It is worth noting that among us there also were some who perceived the danger to the party and state and fiercely opposed alien tendencies and forces. They proved their ideological toughness. It is also a fact that, under the influence of pressure or even terror, the work of certain basic party organizations (POP) became moribund. Wherever our aktiv had succeeded in mobilizing the workforces for action, the enemy failed to accomplish his purposes. The universal warning strike organized on 28 October 1981 was a failure. For the first time in the province no workforce had entirely ceased work. These facts pointed to a change in the public mood; they showed that the public was exhausted by the perpetual heating of the atmosphere, demonstrations and strikes. A growing number of people began to desire tranquility and safety and fear for their personal fate and that of the country.

The extremists from the Solidarity of Private Farmers in the Olsztyn countryside played no major role. A fairly good atmosphere reigned among the workforces on State Farms. There was only one instance of the declaration of a strike alert on PGR [State Farms] and SKR [Agricultural Circle Cooperatives]. It can be stated that the feeling of reasonableness and responsibility prevailed in Olsztyn's agriculture.

The enemy did not abandon exploring new domains of conflict and confrontation. In the last few days of November, Olsztyn higher schools, supported by Solidarity advisers and financed by the Regional Solidarity Board, had joined the student strikes in Poland which by then were of an explicitly political nature.

Despite the enemy's aggressive attacks, we attempted to prevent a collapse of the production, procurements and supplies of staple foodstuffs, heating fuel and winter stores. Thanks to the tremendous effort of the aktiv, the management and the workforces as well as of numerous groups of the society of our province, we coped with this task although the threat of economic paralysis hung over our heads. That was, however, an exceptionally difficult period, the more so considering that we were aware that extremist Solidarity activists desired a confrontation, as was already plainly stated during the

Radom-Gdansk deliberations when preparing the total clash on 16 and 17 December, in Olsztyn as well.

If we withstood as a party--to be sure, as a weakened but not collapsed party--that period of massed attacks, and after 13 December [1981, when martial law was declared] did not have to begin from the scratch, that was owing to the attitude of thousands of party members, especially those in the first line of struggle where the difficulties were the greatest. This is to the credit of the worker organizations, which retained their ability to act and political activism. This is also to the credit of many groups of the aktiv and our comrades in the People's Polish Army, the Militia and the Security Service. This was promoted by the civic behavior of our society, its reasonableness and responsibility.

This was the situation in which we faced the day of 13 December 1981 on which was taken the political decision to introduce martial law, which saved us from a civil war, from the biological extermination of the nation, and preserved national identity and the socialist nature of the state. The martial law served to halt the counter-revolution, stop crisis processes in the economy and continue the reforms. This provided the objective premises for strengthening the party and gradually rebuilding its energy and weakened organizational ties.

In the first days of the martial law we focused our efforts on preventing any counter-actions by the Solidarity extremists. Attempts to organize strikes were made at several plants. The enemy succeeded in mobilizing for a strike only part of the employees of the UNITRA-CEMI [Electronics Plant] in Szczytno and the OZOS in Olsztyn. At the OZOS, the strikers had to be removed from the factory with the aid of joint forces of the Militia and the Army. The internal enemy, supported by Western propaganda centers hostile to us, tried with a varying intensity throughout the past term of office of the province party organization--and is still continuing his attempts--to disrupt the process of normalization by organizing strikes, demonstrations, sabotage actions, distributions of leaflets, etc. These instances are generally known to you, comrades. Knowledge of the methods of political and diversionary struggle employed by the enemy should continue to be part of our daily work.

The thesis, advocated in some places, that the political struggle would die down with ongoing normalization and economic stabilization is an erroneous thesis. The political enemy has merely changed his forms and methods of action. They have become more clandestine and perfidious, without being any less menacing. We can state now that in our province the underground and hostile propaganda failed to accomplish any of their goals. Nowadays the society is not susceptible to the enemy's confrontational slogans. This is due to our energetic counteractions and preventive measures as well as to the wisdom of the working people. The People's Polish Army, the Militia and the Security Service performed in a model manner their duty to the nation and state. To all these comrades, and to all working people in our province, we express our appreciation of their civic and patriotic attitude, of their actual defense of the socialist state. The tasks we posed were accomplished by the Province Defense Committee and an overwhelming majority of the

executive personnel and management of plants and enterprises. Our party echelons and organizations have been gaining strength and experience in this political struggle. The number of active party members has been growing. We were not alone in this political struggle. We were supported by the allied parties and other organizations of working people. But this does not mean that nowadays we can speak of a fully positive political atmosphere within the society.

Following 13 December [1981] we decided that the main task of the province party organization would be to create the political, social and economic conditions serving to emerge from the crisis and martial law. We strengthened the party and its leading but also serving role. At a time when there were no trade unions and self-governments, we initiated the establishment of social service commissions, consultative commissions, price and cost commissions, and others. We supported the formation of citizens' committees for national rebirth and salvation. We inspired the process of the introduction of the economic reform and democratization of socio-political life. We inspired the growth of economic activity and improvements in the supplies of consumer goods. We supported the development of private land plots for workers, etc. We devoted much attention to the education and upbringing of youth.

All the elements of the province party organization adopted the principle that whatever is important to working people is also important to the party--recognizing that this is the most effective method of recovering [the public's] confidence [in the party] in the process of the renewal of our life. A vital political element was the anticipated abolition of the martial law. The political opposition was frustrated in its expectation that that abolition would trigger a return to anarchy and total struggle against socialism in our country.

/Today's conference culminates the reports-elections campaign of the province party organization./

The course of the discussions at reports-elections meetings and conferences has shown that the factor decisive to the party's future is that it has been the party of struggle for the cause of the working class and working people. This campaign has demonstrated the intensified activism of the members of our POPs and echelons, but it also has revealed weak elements.

The reports-elections meetings have been characterized by seriousness, practicality and understanding of the complicated domestic and international situation. There were no silent meetings. The participation of workers and farmers in the discussions increased. Much attention was paid to the implementation of resolutions and recommendations. Many critical opinions were voiced concerning the performance of local POPs, the executive cadre and the administration. Emphasis was placed on the need to strengthen party discipline, adhere to the statute and implement individual assignments.

Much concern was shown in speaking of the attitudes of party members and the necessity of their providing personal examples of leadership. Emphasis was placed on the need for quantitative and qualitative improvements in party

membership and the strengthening of the party's nature and its worker-peasant core.

It was postulated that the class nature of the party be reflected in the everyday practice of state and economic administration. The discussion focused on problems of housing construction, municipal services, the performance of trade and consumer services, supplies, prices and the wage system.

In the countryside, many critical remarks were made concerning the supply system and the performance of agricultural service organizations as well as the health service and cultural establishments.

The worker aktiv of the party raised in particular the issues of social justice, social services and living conditions of workforces, housing allocation, safety and hygiene of labor, improvements in working conditions and interpersonal relations, and cadre policies. The danger to peace was mentioned with anxiety, acknowledging that peace is not to be taken for granted but has to be struggled for. Mention was made of the need for intensive work to promote the upbringing of youth, and of the role of the schools, teachers and youth organizations.

Much attention in the discussions was paid to political inspiration on behalf of strengthening and developing trade unions, worker self-governments and the activities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). Altogether, nearly 1,300 recommendations, of which 185 addressed to the central authorities, were made. The implementation of these recommendations is our party and statutory duty.

The campaign revealed that the province party organization is more cohesive and capable of political struggle as well as of inspiring and monitoring elements of state and economic administrative authorities. It also revealed that the number of active party members has increased, that a growing number of comrades are implementing the party line within their communities, involving themselves in the work of social and youth organizations and in the development of self-governments, trade unions and PRON elements. This reports-elections campaign has at the same time revealed that some of our party members are passive and some of the POPs are weak, that certain comrades are timid and fail to take the offensive in defending the party. However, the broad party aktiv and the executive cadre have become strengthened and toughened. Being rich in experience and familiarity with the enemy's methods, we are capable of offensive action under the most difficult conditions. It is an urgent task to broaden the worker aktiv. It is precisely the worker aktiv that often is decisive to the atmosphere, moods and attitudes of broad worker groups. For this very reason, the establishment of worker aktiv schools under the Province Committee and at regional centers of party work is an urgent task.

The campaign confirmed that the systemic principles of socialism and the idea of social justice are deeply rooted in the awareness of the working class and the society. Comrades spoke with a feeling of outrage about speculation, parasitism, excessive incomes and the ineffectiveness of measures taken so

far. The struggle against phenomena of speculation, poor management and social pathology is a vital front of action for the POPs, plant party committees and all party echelons and members. It is our party and moral duty. For in this struggle we cannot rely alone on the activities of control institutions and the Militia. The broadest possible social front should be created for condemning such phenomena. This is an essential premise for accelerating the emergence from the crisis and improving social morality.

Esteemed Comrades!

/During the past term of office, party organizations and echelons at all levels have devoted much energy to matters relating to meeting the basic needs of the inhabitants of our province./

In Olsztyn Province, too, the negative phenomena occurring throughout the country took place. Production and labor productivity declined, while wages climbed. In many fields there arose dramatic difficulties due to the disruption of co-production ties. The tire and poultry industries as well as many others were adversely affected by the restrictions imposed by the United States administration and certain Western countries. This complicated the introduction of the economic reform, the more so considering that its principles have not always been clear even to part of the managerial cadre. We postulated specific systemic revisions, which were introduced. The sudden price increases, coupled with shortages of consumer goods and the market imbalance, were not conducive to calming the public mood. Many people considered the causes of the difficulties to be traceable not to the crisis but to the economic reform. Being aware of the entire complexity of the situation and the burden of objective difficulties, we could not reconcile ourselves to the unfavorable phenomena that occurred during the years 1981 and 1982 and that still partially exist in certain enterprises and fields. We had to oppose tendencies to exploit certain mechanisms of the reform almost exclusively for the protection of temporary interests of the workforces at the expense of national interests. It was also necessary to oppose, among other things, the minimalist implementation of output targets by certain plants in accordance with the principle of survival even when the raw materials were available. It was further necessary to oppose attempts to burden society with the cost of a plant's own poor management by jacking up the prices.

We regarded as invalid the theory advocated in 1982 by part of the managerial cadre, according to which Olszyn industry was supposedly doomed to a performance below the national average owing to the absence of extractive industry in our province. Hence also we recommended the drafting of plant programs for surmounting the crisis. We implemented consistently the resolutions of the 8th and 14th Central Committee plenums.

Beginning in the second half of 1982, the activity of enterprises gradually increased, as reflected in the growth of output and labor productivity.

In accordance with social needs, we devoted a great deal of time to problems of the consumer goods market and supplies. We did not achieve a market equil-

librium, but we improved our position as regards supplies on the national scale.

Owing to inspiration by party organizations, upon considerable involvement of the managerial cadre, plant conservation and anti-inflation programs were drafted. However, the implementation of these programs is causing serious fears at some enterprises. For sometimes these programs are purely declarative and remain unfulfilled. It is an urgent task for party organizations and echelons to energize the implementation of these programs with the active participation of worker self-governments.

We have not succeeded--and I wish to emphasize this--in prompting universal socio-occupational activism. Among a part of the society there still remains a great deal of apathy and discouragement as well as susceptibility to panic and various rumors, particularly those concerning the consumer goods market.

At present we cannot as yet declare that we have universally restored pro-socialist awareness among the entire society, and particularly within numerous youth groups.

Let me recall in this place that the nadir in industry and construction occurred during the first half of 1982. At that time we acknowledged that the economy and the application of the reform are among the principal fronts of political struggle. Hence also we surmounted the minimalist tendencies and endeavored to promote the activism of the management, the workforces and all party elements. This has produced results. Hence also we ended the year 1983 with better results than the national average.

We have succeeded in more than doubling the growth rate of industrial output compared with the national average. To be sure, the pace of wage increases is faster than that of labor productivity, but these economic relations in this province are better than in the country as a whole. In our province this ratio is 2:1 compared with 4:1 for the country as a whole.

The decline in housing construction has been halted. We have recorded a 10-percent increase in that construction along with a substantial though still inadequate growth in the construction of the infrastructure.

I wish to emphasize that during the current term of office we scored significant accomplishments in releasing for use new health service facilities (11 last year) and municipal service facilities, especially sewage treatment plants. We are engaging in a broad front of the construction of schools and trade and consumer service facilities.

Our task is to maintain in 1984 the growth rate of construction, especially that of housing. Otherwise, the achievement of the effects planned for 1985 would not be feasible. We are attempting to attain an annual housing construction level of more than 4,000 apartments (exclusive of private home building) in this province.

As regards industry, we must assure the continuation of desired development trends, despite raw-material and manpower problems. A lasting principle in the province's economy should be conservation, cost reduction, the introduction of incentive wage systems and an efficient utilization of manpower resources.

We must energize the engineer-technician cadre and the movement for labor-saving suggestions and inventions, so as to assure through personal initiative an increase in output, the proper quality of production and technological progress. This is all the more feasible considering that we have in our province large numbers of highly qualified personnel in industry and agriculture along with a considerable scientific potential. Concern for social services and safety and hygiene of labor should be a major task.

/Agriculture and the food economy are the principal branches of the province's economy./

The importance of these branches is linked to the level of their commercial output. Consider that our province ranks second in commercial milk output among the country's other provinces, third in commercial production of livestock, and fifth in commercial production of grain.

This already is a significant level of agricultural production, but it still is inadequate in comparison to the existing possibilities.

The number of good farms in all [socialized and private] sectors in our province is growing. The actual importance of state farms is rising. The structure of private farms is changing. The number of farms with an area exceeding 10 hectares has increased, and they now account for about 85 percent of peasant-owned land. Further improvements have taken place in the permanent utilization of land, and the procurements of milk and grain have increased. At the same time, however, livestock procurements from private farms have declined, although at the same time its procurements from socialized agriculture have increased.

The performance of, especially, crop farming in the last 2 years is to be regarded as generally satisfactory. But our agriculture still is not exploiting all of its possibilities. For example, our province is the site of one of the largest fluctuations in milk procurements in the country, along with extensive differentiation in the levels of farming and agrotechnics, and in every sector of agriculture at that.

Were all the farms to merely attain the average level, food output would significantly increase. I think that we all should concentrate in the immediate future on exploiting this potential. This means not only the party organizations and elements but also the ZSL, local authorities, agricultural and self-government organizations, and the agricultural and food industry. We expect substantial assistance in exploiting this potential from the Agricultural-Technical Academy and all centers and services engaged in propagating progress and agricultural education and providing advice.

We must urgently solve a major problem of our agriculture--providing water to the countryside. More than 350 villages experience regular or periodic water shortages. In this respect we expect assistance from the farmers themselves as well, and in every sector of agriculture at that.

The cause of agriculture is well-served by the Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee. That resolution defines more precisely the tasks regarding agriculture and the branches of the economy serving agriculture as well as the directions of the social program for the countryside. The implementation of that resolution should contribute not only to an increase in food output but also to improving living and working conditions in the countryside, reviving the socio-political life of the countryside, energizing rural self-governments and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance.

I have indicated certain aspects of the province's socio-economic life. Everywhere we are noting progress. But both we ourselves and outside inspections have uncovered considerable areas of neglect in various domains of our life--neglect ensuing not only from lack of resources but also and above all from the absence of goodwill, from the growing indifference of many individuals and communities and from slovenly work. Often this concerns simple human problems that are left unresolved owing to absence of ordinary goodwill as well as owing to poor management. We believe that the management of certain enterprises, institutions and organizations should view the measures taken so far more critically and in a more civic-minded manner. We are convinced, if only on the basis of confirmed instances, that it is often possible to produce more and at a lower cost, and simply to work better, even under objectively difficult conditions, if the incentive systems and the wisdom of worker self-governments and entire workforces are utilized more competently.

Practice teaches the indispensability of a systematic and penetrating political monitoring by our party over the course of crisis-control measures and over the application of the economic reform and improvements in effectiveness of management. We do not intend to shirk this duty. The heart of the matter and its success will hinge on the extent to which basic and plant party organizations show concern for these issues within their own purview, and on the extent to which they succeed in mobilizing the workforces for this purpose.

/We have achieved significant advances in creating and reconstructing various forms of socio-political life./

We have completed, with the active cooperation of the signatories, the formation of PRON structures. Many communities and individuals have declared their intent to join the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. There is an urgent need for extending social activism to new domains so as to expand the participation of a large part of society therein. This could be, for example, the development and participation in the public commissions for assistance in developing the material facilities of the school system, which are being

established upon the initiative of the Executive Board of the PZPK Province Committee.

This is an unusually important matter, for the year 1984 is a year of elections to people's councils. We must thus provide the conditions for the further growth of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The coming electoral campaign for people's councils will serve to further promote the activism of citizens, but it also imposes on all party elements and echelons the duty of political inspiration in the drafting of electoral programs and nomination of the most valuable candidates to these representative bodies.

I wish to stress that the elections to people's councils will be the most important political campaign in 1984 to the entire party and all of its elements.

Toward the end of 1983 the membership of trade unions in our province exceeded 101,000, which accounts for 45.3 percent of total employment in the province's socialized sector. The highest proportions of this membership are in education, where more than 70 percent of all employees belong to trade unions, followed by agricultural circle cooperatives with 60 percent, state farms with 58 percent, communications workers with 47 percent, railroaders with 44 percent, and wood industry workers with 44 percent, let alone workers in many other subsectors.

The growth rate of the trade union movement differs in different branches, plants and milieux. There is a need for spurring the activism of party members and organizations in promoting the growth of trade unions. This concerns numerical growth as well as the strengthening of that movement and providing it with the conditions for fulfilling its duties toward working people. It is the working people above all who need strong trade unions.

We must however be aware of the entire complexity and heterogeneity of the situation. A great deal of work thus still awaits us as regards both promoting the numerical growth of the trade-union movement and strengthening its role in socio-political life.

There also exists a need for surmounting the occasional ambiguity in the attitude of the managerial cadre toward trade unions. Our party organizations and the state administration must support the trade-union movement more effectively.

We also must support more boldly the nascent forms of cooperation among trade unions at city, gmina [parish] and province levels. It also is necessary to establish public consultation councils or other forms of cooperation among trade unions on the territorial scale.

We believe that in our province we have a good and committed managerial cadre and an efficient if young personnel apparat in the party. But we must further improve cadre policies.

Let us define the task tersely: whether in the work establishment or in state or economic administration, the managerial cadre is responsible not only for economic results but also for the proper political and public atmosphere and the proper interpersonal relations.

We note that the nadir as regards youth organizations is already past, although their condition is still far from ideal. At present they are not capable of extending the scope of their educational influence to all youth groups and in all communities at that. In addition to supporting youth organizations, we impose on work establishments the duty of engaging in upbringing work with youth. This concerns the organization of various forms of activity both during leisure hours and in the production process. The government, and especially the educational authorities, must come to the aid. A formula for encouraging teachers to lead scout teams must be found, and rapidly at that.

I wish to emphasize that branches of the SD [Association of Journalists] PRL and the Polish Writers Union have been established upon inspiration by party members: our [party-member] writers and journalists have played an active role in establishing these unions at the national level.

Generally speaking, apart from a few exceptions, worker self-governments are performing satisfactorily.

Jointly with the ZSL, we have rebuilt important elements of the social infrastructure of the countryside, that is, rural self-government. The activism of gmina farmer unions and agricultural circles and organizations is growing.

Comrade Delegates! Esteemed Guests!

/At the threshold of our new term of office we are entering upon a portentous anniversary year--the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic./

This fact must dominate our ideological-upbringing work. We must consolidate the awareness that People's Poland, born of the wisdom of workers, peasants and the Polish Left headed by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, has entered a secure national existence within the system of social justice and the family of the countries of progress and socialist development.

We in Olsztyn Province have special reasons for making this awareness an organic part of patriotic upbringing. After years of slavery our territory has been permanently restored to the Motherland and the demands being made by revisionist West German centers will not change the postwar realities. I believe that every work establishment and every community can reflect its 40 years of accomplishments in display rooms and at exhibitions. Let us also utilize this portentous anniversary for the socio-production energizing of the society. May the slogan "Let Us Honor With Labor the 40th Anniversary of the PRL" be close to every inhabitant of the province.

We face an immensity of tasks. Their implementation will not be assisted by an increase in the danger to world peace and in the aggressiveness of American imperialism. It is not to be expected that economic and propaganda aggression against Poland will diminish. The West will support at any price the operations of the internal enemy. The domestic and foreign enemy will want to exploit all our mistakes and weaknesses and attacks wherever we enable him to do so by our weakness. Thus we cannot afford to commit major mistakes; we cannot afford to be weak. The tasks which we pose ourselves are feasible and we are fulfilling them. There is only one condition: the further strengthening of the ideological-political and organizational unity of our party organization. Party members must be active in every domain of life and demonstrate their initiative there as well as discipline in implementing party resolutions.

/Poland needs a strong party, because only a strong party is capable of ultimately leading the country out of the political and economic crisis and safeguarding a good functioning of socialist democracy. Increasingly broader segments of the public are becoming convinced of this. Strengthening the party and enhancing its ability to fulfill its leading and guiding role is our party duty and patriotic duty./

Mokrzyszczak, Bauknecht Speeches

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 16 Jan 84 p 4

[Speeches of Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Edward Bauknecht: "The Party is Needed by Working People"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

/The past term of office which we are today summing up and assessing had commenced while the crisis was at its nadir. Counter-revolutionary activities were by then so obvious that both the party and a large part of the society clearly perceived the nature and meaning of the danger. The politically healthy forces of the nation sounded the alarm. The party undertook numerous attempts at a political solution of that conflict situation which threatened simply incalculable consequences to the nation and the state./

These attempts produced no improvement, owing to various internal and external reasons. Only the introduction of the martial law did create the conditions for eliminating the anarchy and breakdown, ordering and disciplining the economy and developing constructive forms of social life.

To assess properly our performance, we should recall the initial period of this term of office [of the province party organization]. For every appraisal is closely related to the objective conditions of the reality and the social relations at a given stage of their development. In carrying out this assessment allowance has in every case to be made for such factors as the contemporary socio-political climate and the condition of the party and its

echelons and members or, too, factors hampering and reducing the effectiveness of our actions.

But in assessing the past and analyzing the present, we should also keep thinking of what awaits us in the future. This is indispensable. If we want to learn from old mistakes, we must exploit in our present quotidian political work the experiences and conclusions of recent history, which after all is now history. This is our duty, and not only ours but that of the central party authorities and party echelons. I believe that this is the duty of the entire party and of all its members.

What have we accomplished during this term of office? At what stage do we exist as a party? Which of the assumed goals are still distant? What can menace and impede us, and what effective counter-measures should we take?

The questions are simple, but there are no simple and easy answers to them. Do not expect of me either that in my speech I would offer ready-made solutions and prescriptions. They have to be conceived as a result of our common efforts. Hence also consider what I am saying as my personal contribution to today's deliberations, as an attempt at assessing certain--of a certainty not all--phenomena in our socio-political and economic life, and also as an attempt at defining the ensuing tasks for further party work.

/There are so many factors that will influence the further development of our country. Let me identify only some of them, namely: /

/First:/ the effectiveness of the application of the economic reform and its effect on surmounting the economic crisis, the market conditions, the level of wages and cost of living, the material situation of working people.

/Second:/ the growth of the trade-union movement and of worker self-governments and other social organizations and associations and their influence on the evolution of the atmosphere and interpersonal relations in work establishments and communities, on the social services for and living conditions of employees and on the evolution of the movement for [national] accord in the broadest meaning of the term.

/Third:/ the course and results of political campaigns: the reports-elections campaign within the PZPR, the First National Conference of Delegates to the PZPR Congress, the elections to people's councils, and--it can even be said, above all--the extent of the growth in the party's strength, the effectiveness of its action and influence, and its authority and credibility in the society.

/Fourth:/ the status of state-Church relations, and especially the Church's attitude toward current social problems and the policy of the state and the party, as well as the activities of the anti-socialist opposition in this country and abroad and the effectiveness with which its aims are being counteracted.

/And fifth:/ the further development of the international situation and the position of Poland in Europe and the world.

Analysis of the road we traveled induces many reflections, both those ensuing from assessment of the past and those ensuing from the present situation. Both are of tremendous practical significance. They affirm our conviction that, irrespective of various dramatic moments in the history of socialist Poland, the party's program concept is the sole concept meeting the interests of the working class, and the sole concept safeguarding a peaceful existence to Poland owing to alliances with countries whose development is being guided by the fraternal parties. This is the concept that serves optimally and most completely the interests of the nation.

All the crises that have occurred in our postwar history have been the consequences of deviations from the program line. The creative force was and always is the working class. It was that class too--as we know--that drew attention to these deviations and corrected the party line. Hence also the road of development remains unchanged. From this reflection ensues the conclusion that the authority of ideas, whose spokesman is our party, has never weakened, but the authority of the individuals who distorted these ideas has been forfeited.

The past term of office was without a doubt the most difficult period in the history of our party. It has eminently demonstrated that contemporary life of the society continues to be an arena of an acute class struggle. It has also demonstrated that impairment of this awareness is a factor that spurs the counter-revolutionary tendencies of centers hostile to the working class. The ideas of socialism are objectively values of the loftiest kind. The growth of civilization will proceed in their direction. That is a matter of only pace and time. There is no other alternative.

From the experiences of our history it ensues that the aggressiveness of the centers of the counter-revolution has been a function of the diminishing revolutionary spirit of the workers' party rather than of some absolute increase in their strength. From this the conclusion can be inferred that the idealism of party members, the moral state of the party and the strength of its bonds with the working class are the factors decisive to the pace of building socialism and averting a repetition of crisis situations. Hence, our activities must be more solidly based on accurate and principled appraisals and responses to any attempts at drugging the revolutionary spirit, whitewashing evil and wrapping any ideological skullduggery in an elegant mantle.

In party life, a spade should be called a spade, whether it concerns occurrences or attitudes.

/The material situation of the society remains difficult, however, despite some improvement compared with 1981 and 1982. This year we succeeded in halting the decline in living standards and increasing, even if only slightly, the real incomes of the population./ However, the slow pace of improvement in

living conditions of the population and especially of the economically weakest groups still remains a factor that adversely affects the public mood.

Our economy is experiencing many difficulties that ensue from both internal and external causes.

The performance of many industrial subsectors is markedly influenced by the supply problems due to imports from the capitalist countries. Owing to the economic recession and deteriorating conditions of trade, and chiefly owing to the economic restrictions applied by the United States and other capitalist countries, imports from these countries have markedly declined. It is estimated that the resulting losses reach US\$12 billion.

At the 14th Central Committee Plenum we presented an objective assessment of the current economic situation and the intentions for the next year. That was a candid assessment. We did not conceal the existing difficulties and the potential dangers. The assessment was free of whitewash and unjustified optimism. Our aim was to state in a manner maximally lucid and understandable to the entire society the current situation, the existing obstacles and what we all should do in order to hasten the country's economic development and eliminate negative phenomena and thereby surmount the crisis more rapidly.

We can feel optimistic considering that facts confirm the justice of the decision to commence the reform and the experience gained by the management, engineers and technicians in the last 2 years will pay off and, further, the understanding of the reform and its mechanism is becoming widespread.

Among other things, it was precisely owing to the new economic principles that we halted the economic regression in 1982 and since then have been increasing industrial output. That output still is not large, and still is not commensurate with needs, but it demonstrates that we have commenced advancing--in small strides and at an uneven pace, but still advancing. It is a fact that last year, for the first time since 1979, we increased the national income by 3.5-4 percent, and that for the first time in 10 years we attained a positive balance of foreign trade with the capitalist countries. It would be desirable, though, for that positive balance to be due more to an increase in exports than to the curtailment of imports.

The supplies of consumer goods have improved. Nowadays, stores no longer terrify with empty shelves, although the variety of goods offered leaves something to be desired. We halted the pace of decline in living standards as well as the pace of inflation, and in many economic subsectors and enterprises labor productivity has increased. As a result, it was possible to calm the market and commence the process of restoring the monetary and market equilibrium. In this domain much still remains to be done. We are fated to make difficult and unpopular decisions, but the party is not just a party of popular issues. This concerns making the right and justified decisions, even though often they may be difficult.

/What have we failed to accomplish in the economic sphere?/

--It was not possible to fulfill the plan for reducing the materials-intensiveness of industrial production (the planned reduction for 1983 was 1.9-2.2 percent but the actual reduction was 1.0-1.5 percent).

--The streamlining of materials management has not been satisfactory.

--In many fields we still use or waste many raw and other materials (e.g. an inspection revealed that at 202 facilities more than 50,000 sq m of window glass had to be installed for the second time--this accounts for nearly one-fourth of the entire glassed-in area of buildings. On the yearly scale, more than 500,000 sq m of glass, or enough for the windows of at least 30,000 apartments, are destroyed.

--We still are not meeting the housing demand. Although the number of dwelling units released for occupancy has been rising since 1982, the demand is definitely greater. Problems of this kind also exist in your province. However, the point is not just production capacities or employment but increasingly often the need to develop new building sites, which is more time-consuming and costly.

--Despite the rise in industrial output, we are not meeting the demand of the society for many manufactured consumer goods.

--We are not achieving major progress in streamlining employment.

--The linkage of emoluments to production performance continues to be weak at a majority of enterprises.

--The problem of the quality of goods still exists and is tangible to us all. It is worth noting here that poor quality is not always due to poor raw and other materials. It turns out that very often the reason is simply shoddy, slovenly work, ordinary carelessness. Man makes everything. He can work well or badly, and he can ruin hard-to-get materials. We as party members should provide an example of good work. The slogan "The Party Member Leads in His Community" should accompany all our activities.

One guarantee of a better and more effective solution of the problems of working people and production is the proper cooperation among the nascent trade unions, self-government, youth organizations, other social organizations and scientific-technical societies. We as a party should be the political coordinator of that cooperation and initiate and support it.

For a number of reasons, the unquestioned improvements achieved in the economy remain relatively intangible to working people and in principle do not contribute to improving the public mood. When the burden remains heavy, when people stagger under the brunt of quotidian vexations, improvements and progress are less readily perceived.

The progress achieved offsets slightly the regression that occurred during the years 1979-1982, the more so because during that period Poland's population had increased by 1.5 million. The rise in labor productivity is far from

offsetting the consequences of the shorter work week and lower employment. The increase in the output of consumer goods, that is, in the production whose growth affects society directly, has been lower than the overall growth rate of industrial output. The rise in the cost of living, combined with the 10 years during which the society had been accustomed to fairly stable prices, is producing a psychosocial effect in the form of a failure to perceive that it is offset by increases in wages and other incomes.

/Many favorable changes have taken place in the party. We are rebuilding our ideological identity, gaining in internal strength and slowly recovering the traits of a militant and revolutionary party./

We have surmounted the ideological-political and organizational crisis. Slowly but steadily, the party is regaining efficiency and effectiveness of actions. We have overcome the internal divisions sowed by the post-August period. We saved the party from a schism.

The party is getting reborn in action. We are returning to Marxist-Leninist principles. This is a prolonged political, psychosocial and organizational process. It should be realized, however, that its pace hinges solely on ourselves and our activism.

We are purging ourselves of ideologically alien and harmful influences in the party. Our membership is smaller, but on the other hand we are more effective, flexible and experienced. We are stronger than we had been prior to the 9th Congress. We still remain a mass party. We have nearly 2,200,000 members and candidate members. New members are being admitted (about 1,500 per month, and since August 1980 we have gained more than 52,000 members). To be sure, this still does not offset the membership losses, but it is a positive phenomenon pointing to the recovery of authority and public confidence and the attractiveness of the party's ideas.

As life in this country becomes normalized, emotions cool and the society frees itself of the influence of anti-socialist propaganda, a growing number of party members overcome their moods of passivity and wait-and-see attitude. More and more party organizations follow in their daily work the principle that action in the interest and for the good of the working class is an indispensable duty of the party. Sensitivity to human problems is growing. We meet half-way the working people and their problems, troubles and difficulties. We all must proceed on the premise that we cannot wait for the workers to come to us--it is we who should come to meet them half-way. The principal source of the party's strength lies in its close bonds with the working class and working people. Much still remains to be done in this field.

The party is regaining authority and trust. Through its accomplishments it is gaining credibility in the society. This is a protracted process, and its success hinges primarily on all party elements and above all on the performance of the basic and branch party organizations as well as party groups.

We are changing the operating style of the party. It is fully democratic. We act openly. We do not keep secret from anyone both the aims we set ourselves and the difficulties and obstacles we encounter. We also openly speak about our accomplishments and the aims which we have achieved as well as those we are coming close to achieving. We publish resolutions, programs and the timeliness of their implementations. We consistently render account of their implementation to the entire party and society. We place special emphasis on maintaining close contact and ties between the members of the central authorities and the workforces. We have introduced public consultation on the drafts of the principal documents and decisions (the principles of the economic reform, the Three-Year Plan, the conservation and anti-inflation programs, the draft of the Ideological-Program Declaration, electoral rules, instructions on dues). We have streamlined the system of internal information (information is provided more often--several times daily if the need arises).

Our work still displays defects and shortcomings. We are not doing best everything that we are doing. We must perceive and eliminate this. This applies to both party echelons and basic party elements.

We are overcoming years-long ideological neglect--specific tasks in this respect have been formulated by the 12th and 13th Central Committee plenums. We must develop broadly varied forms of ideological-political work in order to elevate substantially the level of Marxist-Leninist knowledge and the ability to translate it into the language of social practice. Not all organizations can wage effective combat against the political enemy, and not all party echelons and organizations can act offensively, avert the rise of menacing phenomena and prevent conflicts: it sometimes happens that central authorities are relied upon to solve through their decisions the problems, and improve the atmosphere, existing in the work establishments in which local party organizations operate.

We have not fully utilized the tried and tested form of direct work with people (including non-party members). The basic elements, i.e. party groups perform poorly in many communities. It happens not infrequently that a person feels a party member only while at work or at a party meeting but not at his place of residence.

We set ourselves the task of improving the class composition of the party. It could not be completely fulfilled. We placed all party committees under the obligation of evaluating the quantitative and class composition and deployment of the party in individual socio-occupational communities. This evaluation was done on the scale of the entire party by the Secretariat of the Central Committee, which found that the share of workers in party membership (39.7 percent) is disproportionate to their share in the structure of the occupationally active population (43.2 percent); the share of the rising generation is small (11.1 percent); the deployment of the party's forces in discrete socio-occupational milieux is non-uniform; and party membership is low among the rural population.

From this ensue unambiguous and specific tasks. They can be summarized as follows:

/First:/ stabilize the quantitative growth of the party without halting the process of purging it of unfit and passive members; we should systematically work on the preparation and admission of valuable candidates to the party and pay attention to the quality of the party's ranks.

/Second:/ rebuild the party's worker core. Workers should be the most numerous group within the party and, along with peasants, they should be the dominant category of members and candidate members of the PZPR.

/Third:/ assure generational continuity in the party's growth.

/The course of the reports-elections campaign confirms both these positive changes in the party and the negative phenomena I mentioned earlier./ The campaign ran a smooth course and the meetings and conferences were properly and thoroughly organized and generally well-attended, although at some organizations a bare quorum was present:

--The discussion was candid, specific and constructive, and the programs of action to which it led ensue from a realistic assessment of the situation, needs and possibilities for action at particular party organizations. It was marked by concern for the party and Poland.

--The principal issues raised in the discussion were most often intra-plant and intra-party programs, although issues of concern to the entire society also were not absent: the discussion concerned prices; the need for a wage reform with the object of developing wages that would perform an incentive function; the course of the application of principles of the economic reform; the need for the conservation of raw and other materials; and the reduction of production cost. The need for better and more productive labor as the behest of the moment was mentioned. Much attention was devoted to social services for and living conditions of the workforces.

--The climate of the present campaign and the nature and tone of the meetings were diametrically opposite to those dominant 2.5 years ago during the pre-congress campaign.

It can thus be boldly stated that the present campaign altogether represents another stride forward in the process of strengthening the party and rebuilding its standing, prestige and authority among the workforces, and also that it represents a review of the condition of the members and a factor in reviving and energizing members and candidate members.

/What is to be done?/

1. The process of the ideological and organizational strengthening of the party already is advanced. It has to be continued and accelerated. All effort should be focused on work with the basic party elements, because the strength of the entire party will depend on their strength. (Equal concern should be displayed in approaching all [party] organizations regardless of their location and membership, and they should be supported in implementing the

recommendations and postulates they make. Further, meetings should be attended more frequently and talks with party members should be more frequent--members holding elective offices in the party should be included and the authority of the basic party organizations (POP) should be reinforced by, among other things, reacting rapidly to the problems they raise and selecting good lecturers.)

Inspiring the work of the POPs, assisting them in implementing tasks, monitoring and maintaining accountability--such are the basic principles of the work of the party echelon with its subordinate POPs.

2. A highly demanding moral-political attitude should be maintained toward the members, apparat and executive cadre of the party. Irregularities and deviations from principles should be rapidly reacted to, also by means of personnel decisions. Not only loyalty and declared assent to the party's directives but also a critical and creative attitude toward reality as well as commitment and initiative should be expected of the cadre.

3. Special attention should be drawn to maintaining ties with the working people, the working class. The party must primarily consolidate its standing among the workers.

4. There is a need to explore effective ways of winning the society over to more active participation in the process of national renewal and work in elements of the PRON (this concerns especially workers and youth). Here it should be borne in mind that national accord is not an isolated act but something that evolves in the course of a protracted and complex historical process. The party bears a moral responsibility for the course of that process. Hence also there is a need to inspire action, support it and gain over to it the broadest possible segments of the society.

5. The PZPR is the party of social justice, struggle and [national] accord. These three elements should be reflected in day-by-day activities. We are not just speaking for the effect. When we speak of [national] accord, we genuinely desire it. As regards struggle, we are waging it with growing effectiveness. The many new legal solutions demonstrate that social justice is a genuine and real purpose of our action. This is building up our credibility. We must preserve it.

6. Active struggle should be waged against the political enemy. His influence among the working class should be reduced, his real background, purpose of action and political genesis unmasked and those supporting him identified and isolated.

7. Special attention should be paid to the development of the trade-union movement. Its just initiatives on behalf of the workforces--and primarily on behalf of improving their working and living conditions--should be supported. We invariably say that the working class needs strong trade unions that are active and courageous in their criticism as well as in raising issues and that moreover participate in the process of their solution--unions that feel responsible for the socialist workplace.

/What awaits us this year?/

The reports-elections campaign is ending. Its effects, in the form of rational programs of actions tailored to the needs but also to the possibilities of party echelons and organizations, provide the conditions for a more effective than ever solution of the problems of working people and more effective action in behalf of the society.

/During the first half of this coming March we expect to convene the National Conference of Delegates to the 9th Congress./ At that conference we shall evaluate the road traveled since the 9th Congress and take a position on the current economic and socio-political conditions of the country's development. The conference will also examine the theses for the party's long-range program, confirm electoral rules and adopt an ideological-program declaration. We shall inform the delegates of the effects of the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Congress, the performance of the Central Audit Commission and the Central Party Control Commission and the implementation of individual proposals made during the Congress.

The conference will convene in an atmosphere of rising tension in Europe and the world. The international situation is developing in a dangerous direction. This directly menaces our national security. I believe that this fact will not be without significance to the course of the deliberations.

/We are facing elections to people's councils./ That will be an unusually important political campaign. Consultations on the draft of the new electoral regulations are currently in progress. But no matter how democratic will be the principles agreed upon during these consultations, it should be realized that they will be anyway attacked by our opponents, both those abroad and those who are carrying out their instructions within this country. I believe that the democratism of elections means primarily the democratism of the nomination of candidates--experienced, authoritative, uncompromising individuals who understand human problems. And that is something we should be especially sensitive to when participating more actively in the election campaign as well as in the activities being conducted within the framework of the PRON.

/This year we celebrate the 40th anniversary of People's Poland./ We want to honor this anniversary modestly. For this is not the time for fireworks. But at the same time we want to avail ourselves of this occasion to point objectively and accurately to our accomplishments, achievements and successes. It is untrue--contrary to what some people want to persuade the society of--that this period has been solely a time of mistakes, failures and unutilized opportunities. Party organizations should participate in this celebration according to their possibilities.

The briefing materials presented to the conference contain a rich record of all accomplishments. They accurately reflect the work of the province party organization during its past term of office. In addition to the accomplishments, they also describe weaknesses and difficulties.

There are fields of socio-political and economic life in which you as a province lead the country, but there also are domains in which you lag somewhat behind the other provinces. Hence ensue specific tasks for further work--they have also been mentioned in the discussion.

The discussion has complemented and enriched the presented materials and, what is still more important, it has contributed many specific comments and proposals. The new authorities of the province [party organization] should examine them thoroughly and--I believe--include some of them in their program of action.

Comrades, I am convinced that you have every chance for causing the party organization of Olsztyn Province, during its new term of office, to make a further stride forward on the road toward strengthening the party, advancing the economy and the integration of the society and solving human problems more effectively.

/I wish that the slogan "The Party Is Needed by the Working People" would be fully translated into reality./

I thank the aktiv for its arduous and difficult work during the past term of office. It was immeasurably needed. We count on your activism.

To the newly elected Province Committee and both commissions I wish optimally effective work and a great deal of personal satisfaction and gratification from working for the party and the society.

Speech of Edward Bauknecht, delegate from Stawiguda Gmina, director of the Experimental Center of the Institute for Breeding and Acclimatization in Bartazek:

This delegate, who was earlier nominated for candidacy to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, briefly presented his vita (a question was asked from the floor about more details on the candidate's party work). The enterprise he directs has increased nearly fivefold its net commercial output during the last 4 years. Next, he declared that, despite the countless declarations made, Polish agriculture still continues to be improperly treated and farmers, who are for the most part models of industriousness, are treated like second-class citizens--and in a state whose people are mostly of peasant origin at that. The rural public is perfectly aware of the difficult material situation of many intelligentsia and worker families. This awareness causes in farmers the feeling of powerlessness, embarrassment and shame, E. Bauknecht said. He further stated: "We should eliminate attempts to make town and country mutual antagonists." He also drew attention to the need to cease experimenting in agriculture, especially in socialized agriculture, because this is not producing the desired effects. There also is a need for flexible regulations facilitating the reform. An enterprise which has substantial feedstuff reserves but not too much cash is unable to obtain credit for the procurement of livestock and additional production of meat. The speaker expressed the hope that his comments will be viewed as a manifestation of concern not only for agriculture but also for the urban population which deserves something more for its hard work than having to stand in queues for rationed food.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTY, DEMOCRACY EXPLORED

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[Article by Leszek Grzybowski: "The Party and Democracy"]

[Text] The events of the past few years have once more revealed the defects in the mechanisms of our political life and consequently the urgent need to take fundamental, reformational measures to improve it. From the almost 40-years' experience of the People's Republic we can conclude that the most important problem and the one most difficult to solve, pertaining to the functioning of our political system, is the problem of developing such regulations and mechanisms which, while ensuring the workers' party leading role--indispensable if the primacy of the interests of the workers' class and the stability of the socialist system are to be guaranteed--would also satisfy the needs of democratization in society as a whole.

After every crisis measures were taken to develop these kinds of mechanisms. But it ultimately turned out that the scale of the changes being conducted was not large enough, that many democratic institutions after a temporary revivification became weak, the control by society lost its effectiveness, and that the party masses were also deprived of these possibilities. The basic question, then, is why, despite the undoubtedly good intentions to improve the political mechanisms and the understandable support of society for such a process, a withdrawal from these ideas occurred after a certain time.

The answer to this question may be sought in an examination of the individual decisions and areas of policy, the personnel arrangements in the leadership of the party and the state, the virtues and faults of particular people, their behavior in concrete situations, the processes taking place in the minds of the leaders as a result of their exercise of authority, as well as under the influence of the people who surround them. etc. Doubtless an examination of the activities in the ruling circles of various informal groups would cast a great deal of light on the history of the departure from the line of democratic reform.

This type of examination might lead to establishment of personal responsibility for the crisis and to a determination of its direct circumstances and causes. But this is an examination whose results would serve mainly to assess the blame for the past, and at the most it would serve the current needs of policy--relieve the accumulated passions and the making of cadre decisions. From the

perspectives of the problems that the future will bring, it is not important to establish who caused a withdrawal from the processes of democratization but to determine the conditions which made it possible for this to happen. And whether a repetition of the previous mistakes occurs will depend on whether these conditions change, and not just the people at the helm of authority.

I believe that the basic condition which foredoomed the collapse of democratic processes in our country was the lack of support for these processes in appropriate economic solutions, and in particular, the failure to overcome the excessive centralization of the economy. It is not hard to find a confirmation for this thesis in the history of the Polish People's Republic. The workers' self-governments which sprang up after 1956 did not fulfill the hopes of the workforces either then or in the 1970's, when the idea of workers' self-government came up again. It could not have been otherwise because the excessively centralized management of the economy basically did not give the self-governments a field for action; the actual range of their ability to function was far from that which had been officially recorded.

For the same reason the next attempts to reform the territorial self-government, which officially ensured broad competence for the representative organs of state authority, the people's councils, did not bring the results that society expected. Leaving almost all of the important socioeconomic and cadre decisions within the purview of the central organs of the state and economic administration, and the lack of suitable means at the disposal of the local authorities, created the structural prerequisites for the limitation of democratism. Because democracy is the real ability to influence the surrounding reality, and not an abstraction of freedom and liberty. It is precisely in this area of differences between official and actual potentialities of various types of self-governments--including the workers', territorial, and residents'--that the occurrences of their limited activeness during various periods of the history of the Polish People's Republic can be found. Various centrally announced appeals and organizational corrections aimed at changing this state of affairs did not help because they could not help.

The occurrences referred to also inevitably strengthened the position of the central state administration. This also had an effect on the position of the supreme organ of the state authority, the Sejm. That is why, after periods of rebuilding of the Sejm's position, on a wave of revivification and political reform, the hard mechanisms of an excessively centralized economy, in creating privileges for the executive authority provoked another reduction in the Sejm's role.

And so economic reform, in the form that the prepared and already partially applied laws presage, pertaining to enterprise self-dependence and self-financing, the new definition of the role of the central organs of economic administration, and other actions showing an intent to respect and employ economic laws--basically excludes many crisis-producing mechanisms from the area of political life. Without expanding this theme further, let us simply mention that it also reduces the possibility of the voluntaristic interference in the economy by the party and state apparatus, criticized after each of the crises, as well as the destructive activities of the trade unions.

It will not be easy to impose upon the workforce of a self-financing enterprise the will of anyone who will act to harm the interests of the factory community. Only a representative local organization, given credibility through a broad range of competence (and its must obtain this competence together with the decentralization of the economy), acting on the basis of healthy economic mechanisms, may become a genuine spokesman for the interests of the group that it represents, and be a suitable recipient and stimulator of civic initiatives.

Obviously--and I would like to emphasize this most strongly--a well-thought-out decentralization, which does not undermine the uniformity of the goals and the strategies that it expresses, of socioeconomic decisions, as an important element of reform, is an indispensable condition for the development of democracy. But there is no automatic connection between these two occurrences. We can also imagine a situation in which democratization does not accompany decentralization, since the decisions are being made at the lower level, it is true, but they are still being made in an undemocratic way. What is most important is that there be people who will be able to, and want to, take advantage of the favorable conditions which economic reform creates.

The results of measures aimed at applying economic reform will influence the processes of democratization in Poland not just for the reasons already stated, but also because from the long-range standpoint the success of reform will determine the economic situation and the level of satisfaction of our material needs. It is not hard to show that under conditions of economic strains, and consequently, the worsening social and political situation because of the division of an inadequate national income, tendencies are appearing toward "hard" government. Various ideas containing elements of anarchism are also gaining advocates,

In addition to the excessive centralization of the economy, I believe that the following are also crisis-producing factors in our political life:

--an erroneous understanding, and as a result the erroneous application, of the principles of the party's leading role in the political system,

--identification of the leadership of the PZPR and the party apparatus with the apparatus of the state administration,

--the preservation of faulty mechanisms in the party's internal activities.

The PZPR in the Political System

In the over-35-year history of the PZPR, advocates of many ideas concerning the party's role in political life have appeared. The eruption of various ideas on this subject occurred particularly during the period between August 1980 and December 1981. Most of them, consciously or unconsciously, envisaged that the party would, in essence, surrender authority, for what other conclusion would there have been if the party had been left simply the function of a "guarantor of democracy", "the leader in a nationwide program discussion", etc., while depriving it of its actual instruments of authority?

But in any case it is not these concepts--still not fully surmounted--and the dangers connected with them, that I would like to recall here. Among the various erroneous concepts pertaining to the party's role in political life, the one that probably had the greatest effect was the one that stems from the assumption that it is sufficient to regulate the mechanisms of the actions of the party in such a way as to have them ensure an intraparty democracy, a connection with the masses, and an effective influence on the state and its apparatus, and that this would create a sufficiently reliable mechanism for the correct representation of the workers' interests, and would thus reflect the interests of the working people and the aspirations of society. Other organizations--the other political parties, trade unions, youth organizations, associations--fulfill a useful role in the political system only to the degree that they efficiently transmit the role of the party to the circles to which, for various reasons, it does not have a direct access. These organizations are also an important channel of information on the attitudes and expectations of these circles. But overall they only supplement, through their actions, the supermechanism, which is the omnipotent party.

The advocates of the tendency presented, which ascribes to the party, solely and exclusively, the organizational-unit role in political life, must be reminded that several times already in the history of the PZPR, both the mechanisms of intraparty democracy as well as the mechanisms of maintaining party ties with the people, have failed. It was precisely as a result of the deformation of mechanisms of party action--as the "accountability" PZPR Congresses and Central Committee plenums have determined after each of the crises--that deformation on a societywide scale occurred. As a result, in 1956, 1970 and 1980, the party leadership at those times was opposed by not only a large party of society, but also the party. Poland's historical experience thus does not confirm the thesis which states that perfecting the mechanisms of party functioning--which, after all, was attempted after each of the crises--is a condition sufficient to shape policy in accordance with the interests of the working class and the Polish nation. Furthermore, this thesis conflicts with the Leninist concept of the rule of the people, which envisages genuine party alliances and other representations of the interests of the working people--not just alliances which serve to consolidate the party's hegemonic position.

One more negative aspect of the concept being discussed should be noted. It is the failure to take into consideration the political aspirations of the broad social circles outside the party, who, in the case of the domination of the area of policy by the party, become nonparticipants in political activities. We can find a justification for such a state of affairs in the initial period of the building of socialism, when this political system was being threatened by forces of reaction which were still powerful, and when it was important to neutralize the broad social circles which were biased against socialism as a result of the anticommunist propaganda of successive periods. But if, despite the acceptance with the passage of time of the idea of socialism by the majority of society, there was no large increase in the genuine participation of nonparty people, then groups of people organized against the party--people disposed not to socialism in general, but disposed to a socialism in which if one is not in the party, one cannot share in the

shaping of reality. This led to the appearance of an outwardly paradoxical phenomenon--a combining, by these same people, of an attitude of opposition to the party with an acceptance of the general ideas of socialism as proclaimed by the party and also, despite various impediments and mistakes, as implemented by the party. We also find here a key to the understanding of another phenomenon known in our history: a stronger identification of party members with nonmembers than with party leadership when it made mistakes in implementing the program for the country's development.

The PZPR and the State Administration

To begin with I would like to explain more fully the thesis that I advanced about the extreme identification of the party leadership with the apparatus of the state administration as a factor inhibiting the processes of democratization. It is obvious that the PZPR as the ruling party cannot distance itself from the state administration or criticize it endlessly. But under conditions of a socialist political system, when there are no legally operating opposition parties which steadily conduct such criticism, the party has a duty to always be vigilant, to make sure that the state administration fulfills its obligations to society. To fulfill this assignment satisfactorily, in the party-state administration relationship the principle should be observed that the party will not replace the administration in the fulfillment of its duties. This means that party elements, on state matters, should define a line, make program and directional decisions, have an effective influence on cadre policy and perform a control function. However, they should not make decisions of an operational nature for the administration, or decisions for direct execution by the administration.

The results of the failure to observe this principle are familiar. Instead of enumerating them, let us concentrate on the positives which full respect of the principle can bring.

I believe the basic of these is the creation of proper conditions for fulfillment of their constitutional functions by the representative organs of the state authority--the Sejm and the people's councils. In a situation in which the fundamental decisions are being made in the relationship: the party's executing organizational unit and the organ of state administration at a given level, the representative organs of the state authority add only the formalities. This puts the deputies and councillors, including those representing the PZPR, in a difficult position, because they then have the job of "fronting" for ideas and drafts of decisions which were made without their participation. Overcoming these practices raises the standing of the deputy or councillor and encourages him to greater activity. This relates to the shifting of the leading party cadres, the other political parties and other organizations, which have their representatives in the representative organs of authority, to precisely these organs. In many cases it would not be necessary to literally relocate these people because frequently they are also deputies and councillors, but the main field of their activity would be shifted to the Sejm or the people's councils.

Respect of the inviolable principle of the party's leading role, the process being referred to here, would also have a favorable influence on the activities of other institutions of democracy, e.g., the trade unions and workers' self-governments. Frequently the administration hides behind guidelines and decisions of party echelons (or rather, of the individual persons in the leadership), putting the party active in these organizations in a difficult situation.

A clear distinction between the responsibilities and competencies of the state administration and the responsibilities and competencies of the party echelons is indispensable if the party is to perform its control function in relation to the administration from the distance necessary for a thorough and critical assessment. It appears that it was precisely this lack of distance that was the greatest mistake in the methods of directing the state by successive PZPR leaderships. It is obvious that control of the administration by the party is not realistic when the party organs regularly participate in this administration, and make decisions in behalf of it or with it. The control, which the committee at a given level should be exercising, fails, because the reports on the subject of the administration's actions are being prepared for that committee as a rule by the executive apparatus of this committee, and it is this committee that normally works most closely with the administration. Control on the part of the pertinent representative organ of authority also fails, because the party members working with this organ feel obligated to support the opinions expressed by their committee.

What I have written on the benefits flowing from suitable modifications of ties between party echelons, and particularly their executive apparatus, and the state administration, should not lead to the conclusion that I am propagating a reduction in the party's leadership function in relation to the state. I am interested only in showing that the party's main partner should be the system of representative organs of the state authority, and that in large measure it should implement its leadership role in regard to the state through these organs. It should be noted here that as distinct from the style of direct control by the state's executive apparatus, a style in which this leadership is exercised through the representative organs not only is more democratic and involves considerably more people--and from different circles--in the processes of decision, not only increases, as may be expected, the chances of conducting a better and more correct policy, but it also demands much more from the party authorities and their apparatus in the area of skillful and knowledgeable political activity, as well as the professionalism necessary to make independent analyses, not basing them simply on the reports of experts in the state administration.

Mechanisms of Intraparty Activity and Democracy

At all of the "accountability" congresses of the PZPR and the plenary meetings of the Central Committee assessing the sources of the successive upheavals, a thesis was formulated about the close connection between the deviations from the Leninist principles of intraparty activity and the societywide crises. It is natural, therefore, to ask: Why, despite the correct diagnosis, was the restoration of these principles unsuccessful and the PZPR now for the third time faces the same task?

The cause of the successive crises in the party appears to be the fact that neither at the moment in which it took over, nor after each of the crises was a realizable model of the leninist principles of intraparty activity formed which would have been an adaptation of those principles--defined, after all, when Lenin's party fought for authority--to the conditions of party activity, which took upon itself the task based this time on building, and not destroying the system that was in place at the time. Of course, leninist principles of intraparty activity--particularly those such as democratic centralism, activeness and high commitment of all members, activeness and vanguard character of both primary organizations as well as leadership elements of the party, etc.--have a universal character, but nevertheless only when there is a struggle for authority does a mechanism function, independent of the party, which constantly and effectively verifies that they are being observed. This mechanism is created by the activity of the political opponents, of whom the most important is the ruling class (classes), the governing party (or parties) that serve their interests, and its subordinate state apparatus. This mechanism is responsible for the fact that in marxist-leninist parties struggling for authority there was no wide-scale appearance of careerism, passiveness on the part of party members, or gain of material advantages as a result of functions performed, etc. A crisis inside a party struggling for authority is easily detectable, for it almost automatically and in a visible way weakens its political position. Usually, too, when the party functions illegally or semilegally, it threatens the security of its cores.

The situation when a marxist-leninist party is in power is totally different, which Lenin stressed many times after establishing soviet rule. If it does not itself create the mechanisms to prevent deformations in his internal activities, the crisis may be unavoidable. It is detectable late, because the party fulfills a hegemonic role in political life, and the lack of an organized opposition means that there are no mechanisms which would verify the party's activities on a current basis. Only a social protest, mainly by workers, has taken the party down the wrong path, except that this is a mechanism which operates after the fact when the results of the internal crisis are already being shifted into the national sphere in the form of an economic crisis and a crisis of democracy. Furthermore, this is an extremely widespread crisis, because a marxist-leninist party does not restrict itself--at least during the period of the building of the foundations of socialism--to influencing the state leadership, but controls all areas of political, economic, cultural, etc., life. Deformation of party activity leads to deformation of all components of national life.

What were the reasons for the poor success of the efforts made after each of the crises to establish leninist norms in intraparty activities? To determine these reasons requires that pertinent scientific studies be made. Without them we can only point to several circumstances which, it seems, contributed.

After October 1956 and after December 1970, the leadership of the party brought forth leaders who, in a short time, gained the confidence of the party masses and most of society. At the same time, gradual transformations in the party itself and in the political life of the country were initiated. The standard of living rose, an attractive program for the immediate future was announced,

and overall, a certain picture of the country's development over a longer time-frame was painted. The fascination with democracy after October 1956, or the tremendous thrust of actions to develop the country's economy after 1970, was responsible for the fact that at the party's congresses immediately after the crisis there could be no, and indeed there was no, sufficient pressure from the bottom upwards to construct effective guarantees ensuring the inviolability of leninist principles of party activity. The party members were satisfied with the rather general changes in the statute. An example of this is the adding to the statute, after 1970, of the principle of consultation--but without any kind of concrete obligation on the part of the party leadership to observe this principle.

Added to this, it is believed, was the lack of interest by the party leadership in creating laws which would restrict the freedom of their actions. This is natural in every political party and the PZPR is no exception. It should be noted that during the period when the modified statutory changes were being made, the new leadership was already burdened with a considerable amount of responsibility for its activities at the helm of the party: after the October crisis, the party congress (Third) took place after two and a half years had elapsed; after the December crisis, the congress (Fourth) convened after a year. The leadership was not able to implement all of the earlier declarations, and so there were reasons not to create effective mechanisms by which the leadership would be held accountable for its work, mechanisms such as length of term of office and others.

As a result the party came out of the crises with an increasingly more compact catalog of norms defining its activities in the leninist spirit, while in the area of implementation, in the area of mechanisms guaranteeing the implementation of these norms, no visible progress took place. Descriptions of members' duties and rights, statements pointing to the interdependence of centralism and democracy, collegiality and personal responsibility, etc., were becoming better and better, but no enforcement for any of this was provided which would have prevented the gap between verbal loyalty to leninist principles and the deviation from these principles in practice. Nor did the statute cover many issues crucial to the democratic functioning of the party, for example, elections in the party, mechanisms for the functioning of party authorities, the role and organization of the party apparatus, etc. The turning point finally came with the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, which approved a statute containing many new mechanisms, developed during a stormy pre-Congress discussion (for the first time in our party changes to the statute evoked such great liveliness) which would create a basis for democratic party functioning, compatible with the ideas of centralism, its organizational efficiency, the development of program concepts expressing the desires of the party ranks and not just the narrow circles of leadership. It can be said that the Polish workers' movement now has a ready, finished document standardizing the principles of the party activities, making full use of conclusions drawn from good and bad experiences. With certain corrections dictated by practice, it will be an important precondition for the fulfillment by the party of its duties to the working class and all working people.

If we were to list the criticisms made after each of the crises, the most general catalog of deviations from leninist standards of intraparty activity in the PZPR would show:

--exemption of the leadership-executing elements of the party from the control of the representative organs of party authority and party organizations;

--failure to respect ideological and moral criteria in shaping the composition of the party, treating membership officially, and placing undue emphasis on the numerical development of the party;

--decline of authentic ideological life in the party and replacing it with a glossed-over propaganda on the current policy of the party's leadership.

Exemption of the executive elements of the party from the control of party members was the main direction in violating the principles of democratic centralism. The reverse situation, i.e., when the principle of democratic centralism was violated leading the party to a weakened state caused by a kind of anarchy, the lack of unity in even the basic matters or the appearance of factional elements, was observed only during periods of open crises in the party, occurring as a result of an awareness of previous deformations. But this was of short duration and secondary as compared with the basic distortion, i.e., excessive centralism.

It can be said then that in a centralized, hierarchical structure, attention during the consolidation of democratic centralism should be mainly directed at those areas of intraparty activity in which the will of the party members is articulated and transferred to its executive organs and the control of the work of these organs. It is this simultaneous consolidation of centralism and democracy, by which the first element concretely (e.g., the former PZPR elections instructions), and the second element mainly verbally, became the cause of distortions in party functioning.

To develop intraparty democracy the principle of dual subordination of the executive organs, i.e., subordination both to one's own committee and to the higher echelon, must be correctly implemented in practice. This is important because the second subordination was always of a measurable, concrete nature. The superior echelon, or rather its individual representatives, not only proposed people for positions but also had available to them almost all of the instruments for evaluating members of the executing authority and holding them accountable for their activities, from the time of their promotion until their dismissal.

As a result of the operation of this mechanism, the subordination of the representative of the party executive authorities to the electors from an organization or a party echelon (committee) was really limited. Particularly when it became a flagrant practice, and not a special case, that the function of secretary was entrusted not to a member selected from within a given circle, but to one sent in from the outside. As a result he primarily became the representative of the party leadership directing the given organization, and not a representative of the given organization, implementing its directives and

acting as spokesman for its viewpoints. This meant that sometimes already on the level of the party organization in a workplace, but more frequently on the higher organizational levels (gminas, provinces), divisions into "we" (i.e., the organization), and "they", i.e., the leadership, appeared; a member of the strict leadership of the organization at a given level primarily became a functionary of the authorities of the higher level, and not a representative of his own organization, having its support and able to appeal to it when the superior authorities did not respect the views expressed by him in the name of the organization.

In describing the deviation from the principle of dual subordination in favor of subordination primarily to the "top" I used the past tense, since starting with the campaign prior to the Ninth PZPR Congress the situation in the party is changing for the better. Now the executive organs must take more cognizance of their committees and their electors, and whether or not one holds his position is determined not only by a positive evaluation from "above" but also by recognition from "below".

But the place of the executive organs of authority in the system of party functioning will be determined not just by the democratization of electoral mechanisms on all levels of the party structure and the consolidation of the control functions of the organs of party authority (committees) over the executive organs (secretariats, executive boards), but also by an increase in the independence of party organizations and echelons in relation to units on the higher level. The range of independence should be restricted by the overall program line of the party, its concretization performed by the superior echelon, the statutory principles of the party, and to a lesser degree by the directives and instructions "from above", particularly those which are not an expression of the will of the superior echelon as a representative organ, but were issued by particular persons from the leadership or by functionaries of the party apparatus. An increase in the independence of party organizations and echelons will become absolutely necessary in the coming years, together with the process of decentralization of many political and economic decisions.

The second of the intraparty problems which I would like to call attention to and whose successful solution, I believe, is one of the fundamental factors in the gaining of authority by the party and the expansion of influence on society, pertains to the shaping of the party's composition.

The characteristic feature of the shaping of the party's membership in recent years was the formal treatment, in practice, of this very sensitive area of intraparty activity. It seems that at the root of this is the improper application of the principle which states that the development of the party ranks cannot be impulsive, but must be considered, supported by a specific organizational effort, so that the party will develop in all circles that are important from the political and social point of view. The correctness of this principle is unquestionable, particularly if we consider that the tasks of shaping the party numerically were also accompanied by instructions pertaining to the acceptance into the party of people of the highest ideology and morals. But what good was this, when almost always they were violated, and in the direction of larger numbers?

In holding the party organizations, from the primary all the way up to the provincial, accountable for the composition of their memberships, it was not so much the ideological and moral criteria that were applied as it was the numbers, the quantitative measurement. As a result, after every renewal in intraparty life, when, after a certain number of members who were obviously not fulfilling their statutory obligations were removed from the rolls, it was possible, for a certain time, to combine the qualitative and quantitative criteria in the development of the party--the latter began to dominate. Rivalry began to appear among the committees about the quantitative development of the organization, the planning of the number of people who should be brought into the party, and as a result many people were accepted into the party who were clearly not the model PZPR members. The ambition of the party leadership prior to December 1970 was a 2-million-member party, and in the 1970's, over 3 million.

As a result of this experience, the party should accept the rule that only ideological and moral criteria are meaningful, and the numerical data are simply of an informational nature. Only at the organizational level functioning in a given community can rational decisions be made as to the number of people belonging to this organization. Even if the number of members in a given organization drops because of removal from the rolls of people who are passive or who violate the standards of intraparty life, or morally, the authority of this organization and its ability to function in the community will certainly not be lessened.

The third deviation from the leninist principles of intraparty activity pertains to the ideological work of the party.

It is a known fact, which has been stressed many times, that in the 1970's, particularly at the end of that decade, there was a great deal of neglect in the ideological work of the party. But it would be a simplification to link this state of affairs with some kind of unusual circumstances which occurred during that period. Rather it should be attributed to the tendency of violating, in the party's activities, the dialectics of ideology, politics and economics, which has been going on for a much longer period of time. The characteristic feature of this tendency was that policy was clearly dominant over ideology, while the semblance of the subordination of policy to ideological reason was always maintained.

The more rigorous policies of the political regime of the late 1940's and early 1950's, policies which were guided by very concrete and unjustified, in terms of marxist ideology, political goals, is an example of this kind of situation. But these policies were conducted in accordance with a false ideological thesis, designed for this purpose, about the intensification of the class struggle during the construction of socialism. In the 1970's, in turn, the widely disseminated thesis, which I have already recalled here, about the constant strengthening of the nation's moral and political unity, fulfilled a functional role for the policy by masking the growing disputes and social conflicts caused by political errors and the voluntarism of economic strategy.

A more veiled form of domination of current policy over ideology (even creating a semblance of the supremacy of ideological reason over policy) was the treatment of some ideological theses as being exempt from verification and unquestionable, the construction of artificial barriers restricting the field of penetration by marxist thought, which ex cathedra separated that which is compatible with marxism and defined by this system of social-development theory, from that which is in conflict with it. Failure to consider Poland's realities, the dogmatic interpretation of marxist ideology, lay at the basis of such errors in policy as the promotion, during the 1950's--without consideration for the social and economic consequences and the specific nature of our country--of the collectivization of agriculture, the lack of appropriate support for the peasant economy in the years following, the inconsistent policy in relation to private, small-scale industry in the towns, the fetishization of the role of central management and planning, the ignoring of market mechanisms, etc.

Marxism also embodies principles, particularly pertaining to fundamental methodological questions, which, if undermined or ignored, threaten the cohesiveness and lastingness of the marxist theoretical system. But it seems that even they should not be exclusively the object of adoration on the part of the ideological thought of a marxist party. If the knowledge about social processes, contained in the fundamental assertions of marxism is to be used to the benefit of society, then these assertions must be read anew, in always new and changing social conditions. When these activities are discontinued, as is, after all, so characteristic for the assumptions of the marxist study method, and when the interpretation of the specific canons of marxism begins to be settled not by substantive discussion, but by arbitrary decisions, not by practice but by the practitioners, then these canons, treated ahistorically, lose their qualities as instruments of cognition and transform themselves from a factor in progress to a barrier to progress. When dogmatism is shaped under such conditions, there is, as a rule, the danger that the ideas and opinions going outside the official stereotype will be rashly labeled as being revisionist. Along with this a real revisionism appears, as an extreme reaction to the petrification of marxist thought.

Arbitrary settlements in the area of ideology, depriving marxism, as a science, of the freedom and the connection with practice that is stimulating to it, cannot help but influence the state of marxist social sciences. Instead of an honest examination of reality and the creation of a projection for the future that is no less useful for practice, theoretical activity treated instrumentally ended in vapid disputes and justifications of political practice. The marxist intellectual circles began to avoid the undertaking of more ambitious, and as a rule, more controversial problems, and concerned themselves with secondary problems, from the standpoint of the needs of the present, or with considerations in the area of the history of social ideas.

The experiences of the recent years have shown that if the marxist-leninist social sciences are to be ensured an appropriate role in the party, it will take more than just demonstrations of encouragement and gestures by its leadership. It appears that there should, first of all, be a striving to create efficient mechanisms so that ideology can exert an influence on political

practice, so that practice will not become an autonomous area of the party's activities, not subject to either effective ideological modeling or judgment from the standpoint of ideological principles or the state of current knowledge about society. These mechanisms should concern a guarantee of the high status of theoretical activity in the overall functioning of the party, efficient circulation of ideas and information between marxist intellectuals and party leadership, safeguards against the tendencies to restrict the freedom of research about marxism and the halting of genuine discussions and scientific criticism.

Political discussions in general are not the result of arguments submitted during the course of marxists' discussions. They are determined also by other factors. But unquestionably these publicly expressed arguments should not be ignored when such decisions are made; on the one hand, they throw light on the decisionmaking organs' field of vision; on the other hand, they exert influence on the opinions of the party members and all of society, which when the functioning of political structures is being democratized ensures an indirect influence on decisionmaking. If the marxist social sciences do not take up the challenge of the times, they will doom themselves to the role of an ornament for the party's political practice, and the failure of policy to respect genuine--defined by the living science of marxism--ideological arguments may lead to voluntarism in politics and the regeneration of crisis-producing conditions in the country's entire political and economic system.

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FIFTEENTH PLENUM DISCUSSION REPORTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Feb 84 p 5

[Selected speeches delivered at the PZPR Central Committee's 15th Plenum]

[Text] Below we are printing the speeches of the party's 15th Central Committee Plenum.

Gizeia Pawlowska, Central Committee member, director and assistant of the surgical department in the Sanitary Care Unit in Raciborz (Katowice Province):

"Women make up the majority--51 percent--of our unit, and 43 percent of all those employed in Poland. Women do their jobs more conscientiously and are very disciplined and accurate; it is not necessary to talk to them about combating alcoholism. It would therefore seem that they should advance more often, at least to the degree of their capabilities, to occupy positions of leadership. This is not the case, however, and sex continues to be the basic criterion in consideration for advancement. If any position becomes vacant and both a man and a woman apply for it, then the former is selected without hesitation and consideration of the woman's qualifications. It often happens that the woman is paid less and only because it is customary to do so.

"I continue to observe with great confusion the existing breakdown of so-called masculine occupations; whether in the industrial or construction enterprises, women in managerial positions are exceptions. Under such conditions the statements of our female comrades to the party often contain the complaint that the party is doing too little to change the mentality of society in this area. The party is resisting rather weakly the demagogic slogans advancing the model family of today in which the woman's role is supposed to be complete in the kitchen and the church, and with the children.

"We are thinking about those women who are simply being discriminated against; for instance, a woman seeking acceptance at a medical school must score more points than her male colleague. If plant work forces are to be reduced, then it is usually a woman who goes first. The

closer one gets to the central authorities, both political and economic, the fewer women one finds.

"We want our children to be raised by women and we appreciate very much the law on child care leave. But we also want to be regarded as equal partners with equal opportunities. We do not want to be discounted from a profession simply because there is a fear that it may become a woman's profession and we do not want men to advance faster even if they possess fewer qualifications.

"We are aware of how much has already been done in this area, but even with so much, it is still too little. A lot of the blame rests on the fact that we have forgotten the woman's worth in the heat of the battle for equal recognition. We demand that conditions for advancement for women be the same as for men, that a woman be so evaluated, if her work is better, that she receive the benefits of this positive evaluation."

Stanislawa Brewinska, PZPR Central Audit Commission member and sorter in the Zaganski Wool Combing Mill in Zagan (Zielona Gora Province):

"By participating in the provincial conferences, I had many opportunities to chat with the newly elected members of the provincial audit commissions. For the overwhelming part, these people are very dedicated and deeply involved. These are people who are working for society. We must not forget their efforts.

"Speaking about party members who have already retired, I have to emphasize that I often run into requests for removal from the party's rolls because of advanced age, illness or because of an inability to attend party meetings. It often turns out that these sick people do not pay dues, inasmuch as there is no one to do it for them. The comrades at the plant are not very eager to visit these people. The majority of those retiring wish to continue as members of their workplace's party organization. At our plant, we meet with them and inform them of the sociopolitical and economic situation. We are also interested in their lives and needs. We help as much as we can. The party does need young people, but we cannot forget about our more senior comrades."

Franciszek Jeziorek, Central Committee member and building expert at the Building Projects Office of the State Railroad's Regional Administration in Katowice:

"The first District Administration of the State Railroad System in the budding Polish People's Republic was established on 24 July 1944 at Lublin. The heroic railroad construction effort of Lublin's railroad workers allowed the quick restoration of rail movement and created the basis for the development of economic activity, including both the reconstruction and, afterwards, the expansion of rail transportation.

In the year of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, Lublin's railroad workers appeal to their railroad brothers throughout the country to work voluntarily at least one Saturday in May, June and July in order to improve the appearance of the facilities and sites serving the public.

"In joining Lublin's railroad workers in their appeal, we Silesian railroad workers totally support this initiative for appropriately commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic and turn to our fellow railroad workers throughout the country to join us in the realization of this honorable initiative."

Jozef Nowak, PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary in Walbrzych:

"The discussion at party conferences, although generally critical in nature was free of petty bickering and demogogy. There was much self-criticism; people indicated that it was not better in their home plants, that the so-called objectivity of the situation was not always and not everywhere responsible for the shortcomings. The speeches ended most often with constructive proposals.

"The large and dedicated aktiv is the party's greatest asset. In Walbrzych Province there is a group of young activists which is nearing age 30 and has experienced the period of struggle with our home-grown counterrevolution. They have remembered these experiences without, however, losing any of their aggressiveness and youthful spirit. We advocated the notion of expanding the functioning party aktiv even during the course of the current campaign. From this group, we elected the generally maximum number of comrades to party leadership positions. The significant participation of workers and peasants in party leadership activities merits emphasis. Fifty percent of the Provincial Committee's members and deputy members is made up of workers and farmers. Our constant concern is for every activist to have his own assigned specific task and then to have to account for it. There is still more to this. Unfortunately, we do not have a developed system. The present-day situation demands of us a combat aktiv, one which is well trained and knows its tasks.

"We cannot be satisfied with the very small role which young people play in the changes taking place in our country. Almost two-thirds of Walbrzych Province's inhabitants are children and young adults. The youth movement is experiencing problems, but can also boast of successes which are not always obvious. We offer the movement what help we can, but at the same time, for 3 years now, we have been working with young people who are not organized, especially workers and students.

"We have attached great significance to our efforts with all the forces of the education front, especially the school, family, youth organization and workplace. Our most urgent and, perhaps simultaneously, most difficult tasks in the coming months have to do with bringing

these young people into joint activities with us. The school, both progressively and socialistically, must perform the leading role here."

Wladyslaw Fidzinski, Central Committee member, medical doctor and senior assistant in the Praski Hospital and the Health Care Unit in North Praga section of Warsaw:

"They talked of the need for economic reform at the Ninth PZPR Congress. We have many adherents and disciples who support the reform; we also have many people inspired by the reform. But these inspired people sometimes remember only some of the reform's issues and forget about the others. Maybe we can reform everything, maybe only some things; the point is that we must talk about all of this freely and openly.

"At the Ninth PZPR Congress we also talked about the wage incentive system. It was difficult for me to explain the current situation in health care at party and trade union meetings during this period. There is a Government Presidium decision on the subject of the regulation of wages in health services from September of last year; it is already February. We can be satisfied with the results of a Sejm commission covering this issue; these results were prepared by the Health Ministry. But do these results make the problems of working people any easier? These problems were recognized by the Central Committee Health Commission and the basic party organizations, as well as by all those who participated in the consultation.

"The economic and political crisis in every society is linked to a crisis in morality. The moral crisis bothers teachers and, unfortunately, doctors. But this generalization is often applied to members of not only any given profession, but to the entire society as well. It is true that there are doctors who accept money on the side, but please show me any profession in our society that does not do this-- Journalists, railroad workers, priests. For this reason, we cannot generalize about certain occurrences. By condemning those of my colleagues who behave unethically, I will speak against the generalization of this issue.

"A part of the party membership longs for a party which operates on the principle that if a party directive is issued, then the leadership carries out this directive in a prescribed manner and time. Now we have a situation where there is a great deal of democracy in the party; the leadership, therefore, does not approach us with the same respect as we approach it. It would be worth looking into the efforts of those offices dealing with letters of complaint, the provincial committees, for instance, with regard to when and to what extent they respond to the official letters of the executive boards of the provincial committees and Central Committee members who appeal individually on behalf of people with problems to the representatives of the authorities.

MILEWSKI DESCRIBES ACTIVITIES OF LAW, LEGALITY COMMISSION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Feb 84 pp 1, 2

[PAP article: "Respect for Law Increases the Strength of the State; Report by Mirosław Milewski, Chairman of the Central Committee's Commission of Law and Legality"]

[Text] Materials and documents approved by the PZPR Central Committee at its 15th plenary session for presentation to the participants of the National Conference of Delegates include the "Bulletin on the Work of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Secretariat of the Central Committee and Commissions of the Central Committee."

These commissions are a concrete illustration of the collegial work performed by the leadership of the party. Indeed, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, had raised this subject at his speech given at the 15th Plenum. He emphasized then that the work of 16 problem-solving commissions and three topic-discussion commissions constitutes a valuable form of the Central Committee's activities.

The most essential trends in the activity of the problem-solving commissions, their performance and nature of their work have been outlined, at the request of PAP's national editorial board, by the chairmen of the particular commissions.

Here is the report of Mirosław Milewski, chairman of the Commission of Law and Legality of the Central Committee, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Our commission held 20 sessions. Its members covered a rather arduous road, considering that we had started during the period of disrespect for mandatory laws, when emotion was manifesting itself on a scale that often defied the logic of rational interpretation.

Many commission members were not entirely cognizant of the complexities of legal problems. The commission itself, as a body of the Central Committee, was a novel creation, which meant that it could not take advantage of any proven prototypes worked out in the past.

For this reason, during the initial period, the need to familiarize the commission members with the scale and weight of the problems they would have to confront became our primary obligation. Many sessions, which included important and often heated discussions involving the highest class of experts, practitioners, management representatives of legal institutions, i.e. specialists in the field of law, as well as representatives of the working class, all of whom expressed the attitudes of their own communities, enabled us to engender an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding.

Quite often some of the session participants would call for action aiming at a wide and intensive use of repression against those who violate the law, while others would advocate the need for definite mitigation. A calm presentation of reason brought about the drafting of a uniform approach that may be rated today without exaggeration as the optimal approach, confirmed by today's progressive process of stabilization.

The commission's activity coincided with a most unusual period--first anarchy, a definite counterrevolutionary attack, followed by the declaration of martial law, its suspension, and finally its rescission.

The commission's recommendations turned out to be correct, a fact which gives its members reason for satisfaction. They were recommendations that complied with the approach of the Ninth Congress, and presently the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, designed to intensify the struggle against the adversary and anarchy, and, furthermore, they served to amplify the climate of national reconciliation.

From the very first days until the present we have been applying the principle adopted in the Statute of PZPR, namely: the party does not replace the organs of authority or agency leaders enforcing the law, but rather expresses its own views and gives suggestions, provides counsel about ways to solve problems in conformance with the spirit of socialist renewal.

The commission's activity has been and is linked with the approach of tightening cooperative efforts among agencies enforcing the law, propounding the principle of inescapable responsibility for violating the law, inculcating the conviction that crimes plotted against the state and citizens do not pay. The commission adhered to the ground rule that during particularly difficult periods the activity of law-enforcing agencies must comply with mandatory statutes. Today, without any emotion and with a feeling of responsibility, it is safe to state that all insinuations that prosecuting agencies and agencies administering justice have broken the rules of legality were nothing more than fiction invented by centers of aggressive propaganda against Poland and were compromising for the authors of those falsehoods.

The commission now faces a great many tasks. One particularly urgent task is to take care of problems that are unsettling to the working people, especially the working class. We refer to problems that bring about the infringement of the principle of social justice. The intensive struggle

against speculators who feed on difficulties, against persons who get rich at the expense of other people's grief, and against violation of the law, requires the creation of an atmosphere of social condemnation that calls for more efficient counteraction by the prosecuting agencies and agencies administering justice.

The commission will put in motion and support initiatives designed to fashion such legislative solutions, which foster the build-up of national reconciliation and consolidation of the efforts of all citizens in activities strengthening the principles of social justice in a socialist state, and eliminate the opponents of stabilization and our governmental structure.

The commission's experiences and activity will be evaluated by the National Conference of Delegates. We trust that their comments and suggestions will improve the work of the Commission of Law and Legality of the PZPR Central Committee during the second half of the term of office of the authorities elected at the Ninth Congress.

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PRESS COVERS SYMPOSIUM OF MILITARY, CIVILIAN ECONOMISTS

Armed Forces Daily Report

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Feb 84 pp 1, 7

[Article by Second Lieutenant Janusz Grochowski: "Economic Growth Does Not Hinge on the Desire of the State but on Opportunity"]

[Text] A discussion on issues of the economic education of our society and its impact on overcoming the difficulties our economy is struggling with was held on 28 February 1984 under the title "Economic Sciences--Economy--Upbringing" in the Warsaw Garrison Club "Za Zelazna Brama." Economists from all over the country representing both civilian and military research centers took part in the symposium cosponsored by the MON [Ministry of National Defense] Council for Social Sciences, PTE [Polish Economic Society] and the WAP [Military Political Academy].

The inspector general of materiel of the WP [Polish Army], Vice Minister of National Defense Lt Gen Zbigniew Nowak, and the first deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the WP, Maj Gen Dr Tadeusz Szacilo, attended the symposium.

"The condition of the national economy and its ability to adjust to wartime operation, and the economic potential of the country are the basic factors determining the defense capability of the state. They also influence significantly the combat readiness of the armed forces," stated Gen Zbigniew Nowak in the opening of the meeting of economists. "Hence the interest of the armed forces in the economic situation of the country and their vigorous participation in almost all fields of science and technology."

For many years now, a system of rational management has been functioning in the armed forces. This system is being constantly improved. In every activity, each decision is meticulously analyzed and each expended zloty is measured against the results of training it produces. At the same time, much attention is paid to instilling the habit of rational thinking and efficient utilization of resources in soldiers. Against this background, all the shortcomings of the national economy are visible. Our economy today requires that many complex problems be solved. This was expressed at the 14th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The introduction of changes is associated

with the manifestation of the involvement of the populace and the improvement of its knowledge of changes currently under way. Economic sciences and their educational aspects have a role to play in this matter.

Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski, chairman of the Economic Advisory Council, emphasized in his presentation precisely the role of economic sciences in shaping economic policy. He defined this role as providing inspiration on the one hand and criticism on the other. It so happens that we are embarking on changes in our economy in a very difficult period. Considerable social aspirations should be contrasted with numerous restrictions, for example, in the sphere of wages, in personnel policy, in the structure of production which does not conform to actual needs and also in the scope of investment. These restrictions create the necessity of opting for the most important objectives and they make it impossible to obtain quick results. It is necessary to impress these truths on the social consciousness. People equipped with adequate economic knowledge will not only be able to understand current processes, but will also assume the attitude of active involvement in the overcoming of present difficulties.

Professor Col Tadeusz Grabowski enlarged in his report on the social role of economic sciences, stating that these sciences are a necessary instrument of shaping social relations and steering the processes of development of the socialist society. The economic crisis and the simultaneous ideological offensive of our political adversaries has caused considerable confusion in the minds of many Poles, especially the young. Therefore, it is necessary to start an economic education effort and to explain the real cause of the difficulties we are dealing with.

In the armed forces, this approach has become an integral part of the process of training soldiers. Rational management of the segment of the national income entrusted to the armed forces as well as the raising of economic awareness of the entire populace have resulted from that. Col Grabowski emphasized the ideological, cognitive and practical functions of economic sciences. Also, he stressed the necessity to make use of the experience of other socialist countries to solve specific problems on the basis of such experience.

The PTE chairman, Professor Tomasz Afeltowicz, said that the system of economic education is incoherent as an entity and thus inefficient. Unfortunately, this is so despite the multitude of institutions involved in economic education and the flood of information on this subject. This is reflected in the inadequate condition of economic awareness of the populace, which is also influenced by past experience and present conditions of life. Therefore, it is necessary to convey the knowledge of the economy straightforwardly and objectively. The populace must understand that economic growth does not hinge on the desire of the state, but on the opportunities we create by joint actions, that a compromise is necessary in devising alternative solutions--and that is what we are largely involved with at this point.

Professor Col Wacław Stankiewicz stressed the need to take more account of defense economics in planning economic processes. This is all the more so because the economists in military uniforms have worked out an array of

solutions which have proven themselves in the armed forces. These solutions can be successfully applied in the entire economy. It is also possible to draw from the achievements of the military in economic upbringing, which every soldier is given. Economic education prompts soldiers to think in the categories of economic calculations, which promotes a better appreciation of responsibility for the results of one's own work and the consequences of one's decisions.

The issues addressed in the reports provided a point of departure for the discussion, which lasted several hours.

Professor Wladyslaw Brzezina (WSP [Higher Pedagogical School] in Czestochowa) said that economic upbringing should start at a very young age, instilling in the person the habit of diligent work and social efficiency. Certainly, theoretical knowledge must be related to practice, stated Kazimierz Kurkiewicz (Bydgoszcz chapter of PTE). Therefore, it appears necessary to introduce practical thinking for students of economic schools in enterprises.

In the opinion of Dr Jan Bogutyn (Technical University of Szczecin), it would also be useful to introduce defense economics into the curriculum. This is all the more so because, as the students feel, it can also be used in civilian life. Col Dr Zygmunt Kolodziejak (WAP) said that at least the basic principles of this science should be mastered by the leadership in order to better predict the consequences of their decisions. The economic war, with the glaring manifestations of which we are now dealing, will go on for as long as states with opposing political systems exist.

In the estimation of Col Dr Jan Chmurkowski (WAP), the responsibility to find honest answers to an array of questions which rankle the populace devolves on the economists. Efficient economic education cannot be carried out without that. Professor Aleksander Lukasiewicz (University of Warsaw) said that not only the message but also the way in which it is presented is important. This process must go on constantly, consistently and with the future in view. Professor Witold Sierpinski (SGPiS [Main School of Planning and Statistics]) said that this should prompt active approach, should promote realistic thinking.

In the opinion of Col Professor Antoni Fogucki (WAP), we should study the state of economic awareness, especially since at present it may be the most significant influence on economic activity, as Professor Lucjan Hoffman (University of Gdansk) put it. It is impossible to utilize production capacity and manage efficiently without human involvement. In the estimation of the chairman of the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge, Professor Janusz Gorski, the theory of the omnipotence of the socialist state causes the public to ascribe the failure to accomplish something to the inefficiency of respective authorities, and not to the lack of opportunity. Discussions on how to distribute equitably must be brought to an end, and we must start thinking about ways to produce more. This attitude is prevalent in the armed forces, stressed Professor Zbigniew Abramowicz (WAP) in his rejoinder. The results of such attitudes are apparent in the activities of soldiers which benefit the national economy.

In summation, Professor Afeltowicz stated that research on the Polish economy and the economic awareness of the populace will continue for as long as changes in our economy occur. He also stated that the economic reform needs advocates who would propagate it on the basis of their knowledge.

National Party Daily Account

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Feb 84 p 2

[Article by T. Szymanski: "Economists on Social Consciousness"]

[Text] "The lack of patience is the enemy of the reform. We must quietly await the results of the operation of the new economic system," said Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski at the symposium "Economic Sciences--Economy--Upbringing" which took place on 28 February 1984 in the Warsaw Garrison Club.

Economic education of the populace was as important a topic for discussion at the meeting sponsored by the MON Council for Social Sciences, WAP and PTF as the mechanisms of economic reform. Interdependencies between the two were pointed out, based on the fact that in the absence of adequate awareness of necessary changes it will be difficult to reform the economy.

After the meeting adjourned, we asked the organizers of the symposium to make a statement.

PTE Chairman Tomasz Afeltowicz: "The seminar appealed to the very heart of the interests of the PTE. After all, we have been propagating thinking about the economy of our country in economic categories for years, at thousands of meetings and in many booklets. Have the results been good? We are only embarking on a difficult journey. The consciousness of Poles is shaped by two contradictory visions of the economy. The vision of the economy rooted in the vestiges of capitalism shifts the emphasis to private property. Socialism is based on the concept of socializing the means of production. The citizens of our country by and large accept the socialist system; however, they would also like to achieve certain extemporaneous objectives by using the mechanisms of the old system. Bringing about a change in this way of thinking calls for sustained activity."

First deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the WAP, Maj Gen Tadeusz Szacillo: "Many outstanding civilian and military economists participated in the symposium. The reports and the discussions will certainly improve the knowledge of economic awareness of the populace. We would like to take the conclusions primarily to young people. This is why we invited the teachers of methodology who are responsible for elaborating the curriculum of economic education in secondary schools. We believe that only far-ranging economic knowledge will make it possible to understand properly the economic problems our country is facing."

The inspector general of the materiel of the WP, Vice Minister of National Defense Lt Gen Zbigniew Nowak, also attended the proceedings.

Government Daily Coverage

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Feb 84 p 2

[Article by (Kos): "Symposium of Military and Civilian Economists"]

[Text] On 26 February, a symposium on the mutual dependency of the development of economic sciences, the economy and the economic awareness of the populace was held in Warsaw. It was organized by the MON Council for Social Sciences, the PTE and the WAP. Chairman of the Economic Advisory Council Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski; Vice Minister of National Defense, Inspector General of Materiel of the WP Lt Gen Zbigniew Nowak; deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the WP Maj Gen Tadeusz Szacilo; and leading civilian and military economists attended the conference.

Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski spoke about the role of economic sciences in shaping economic policy. Professor Col Tadeusz Grabowski drew attention to the importance of these sciences in shaping social relations. Chairman of the PTE Professor Tomasz Afeltowicz stressed the significance of economic upbringing in the development of social consciousness and called for improving the efficiency of such education.

Col Professor Wacław Stankiewicz outlined the place of economic sciences in the process of training in the armed forces.

Economic Affairs Weekly Report

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 11, 11 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Krzysztof Fronczak: "Civilian and Uniformed Economics"]

[Text] The economic upbringing of our society and its significance for overcoming economic difficulties were the subject of a national symposium under the title "Economic Sciences--Economy--Upbringing" which was held on 26 February in the Warsaw Garrison Club. The symposium provided a forum for an exchange of views between two communities, the military and civilian economists. Representatives of a wide range of scientific disciplines took part in the conference co-sponsored by the MON Council for Social Sciences, the PTE and the WAP.

Lt Gen Zbigniew Nowak, inspector general of materiel of the WP and vice minister of national defense, inaugurated the proceedings. He stated that the condition of the economy and the economic potential of the country were a basic factor in determining the defense capability of the country and combat readiness of the armed forces. Therefore, the armed forces take a profound interest in the economic situation of the country and in constructive participation in all fields of science and technology. The basic prerequisite of the reform, rational management, is nothing new to the army, where much importance is attached to instilling in soldiers the habit of economic thinking and economical utilization of material assets. The shortcomings of the

civilian economy are all the more visible for the people in uniform. It is necessary to change the approach to social management--this is the task for economic sciences.

Chairman of the Economic Advisory Council Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski presented a report entitled "The Role of Economic Sciences in Shaping Economic Policy." These sciences must provide inspiration for economic measures, but they also must eliminate abnormalities. Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski paid much attention to social and organizational aspirations encountered by economic sciences in current difficult conditions. We are doomed to the necessity of opting for the most important objectives and postponing the rest until later. We must make the social consciousness aware of these truths. Economists must bring this knowledge to society, they must explain the phenomena which are taking place and shape active attitudes.

Col Professor Tadeusz Grabowski in the report entitled "The Social Role of Economic Sciences" stated, among other things, that the economic crisis increases the vulnerability of the populace to the ideological offensive of our adversaries, causing considerable confusion in the political and economic consciousness, especially among the younger generation. Therefore, a more efficient economic education of the populace than so far must be undertaken. The speaker said that in the armed forces thinking in economic categories is the basis of the process of the upbringing of soldiers and that the armed forces play an important part in improving economic knowledge and culture of our society.

In this report entitled "Economic Education of the Populace," the chairman of the PTE, Professor Tomasz Afeltowicz, emphasized the lack of a tangible link between the number of various institutions in charge of economic education and the level and comprehension by the public of the elements of practical knowledge of the economy and its mechanisms. Talking about the state of the economic mood of our populace, which has been profoundly affected by less than perfect past experience and current conditions of life, T. Afeltowicz used the term "captive consciousness." This term was brought up in the subsequent discussion many times.

Col Professor Wacław Stankiewicz spoke on the topic "Military Economic Sciences in the Process of Upbringing in the Armed Forces." He referred to the significance of economic sciences in the life of the armed forces. Disciplines such as defense economics, researching the creation and allocation of the defense economic potential, military economics, which makes it possible to adjust the economy for military purposes as well as branch military economics, such as military economics of supply or upkeep, have long occupied an honorable place in the training of soldiers. It is the desire of economists in uniform to see the knowledge acquired in the armed forces used in civilian life. Col Professor Stankiewicz emphasized that for many young people the armed forces are the first large and complex economic organism they encounter in their life. He also stressed that military economic sciences had made the grade during martial law, when military representatives were able to make a first-hand comparison of their training and concrete, at times very difficult economic issues.

A lively discussion lasted for several hours. By necessity, we quote only a few most representative remarks.

Professor Wladyslaw Brzezina (WSP in Czestochowa) stated that economic upbringing should start as early as elementary school. Unfortunately, the model still in effect calls for economic education only at the college level. Such education is rather of a purely theoretical nature. We want to bring deliverance to the country through macroeconomics, said W. Brzezina, and at the same time we do not give adequate microeconomic training to, for example, our engineers (at least the essentials of bookkeeping), so that they understand the principles of operation of an enterprise.

Professor Janusz Gorski, chairman of the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge, examined the manifestations of false economic awareness, finding its sources in, among other things, shallow journalism, which for years promoted an erroneous opinion on the omnipotence of the socialist state which is capable of solving all the problems it faces. Hence the confiction that "the state can do everything and if it does not do something, it means it does not want to." The demands advanced in 1980 prove that. In Professor Gorski's opinion, passionate discussions on equitable distribution rather than on the ways to augment production are a characteristic trait of contemporary false thinking.

Col Dr Zygmunt Kolodziejak (WAP) expressed the opinion that the links between defense economics and economic policy in our country are too loose. The reason for this state of affairs should be found in the fact that military economic sciences in the PRL are represented almost exclusively by economists in uniform, whereas, for example, between the two World Wars, civilians also researched such issues successfully. Today, defense economics is incorrectly viewed as a military science and is divorced from the problems of civilian economy. Meanwhile, it can be of substantial assistance in solving such problems as appropriate localization of industry, elimination of so-called bottlenecks in production, and so on. After all, defense economics examines the extremely difficult conditions of management. Col Z. Kolodziejak noted that the problem of economic warfare is still on the agenda--defense economics says clearly what an indirect strategy is all about given the existence of two opposing ideological and military blocks. Thus, the treatment of, for example, American restrictions as a temporary strain testifies to the lack of knowledge of the situation. Had the central political-economic leadership of the 1970's known the foundations of this science, it certainly would not have fallen into the dangerous trap in which our economy is today. In the opinion of the speaker, the civilian economy has more than once let itself into dangerous experiments, failing to tap the expertise of defense economics. To give an example, that was the case with the rationing of consumer goods, the guidelines for which remained shaky for a long period of time. The authorities made mistakes in the process, leaving themselves vulnerable to unfavorable political consequences. Meanwhile, the principles of rationing have long been known to defense economics.

In summation, Professor T. Afeltowicz stated that the interdependence between economics and upbringing only seems simple. The problem grows more complicated

as the depth of analysis increases. However, it is beyond any doubt that an adequate development of the economic sciences and their propagation determine the attitudes of the populace. He also expressed his hope that the cooperation of civilian and military economists in this field would be fruitful.

9761

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CHEMICAL TROOPS CHIEF COMMENTS ON NEUTRON, CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Neutron Weapons

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 6, 5 Feb 84 pp 5,10

/Interview with Div Gen Czeslaw Krzyszowski, chief of Chemical Troops, Ministry of National Defense, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "Neutron Weapons Are a Real Danger"/

/Text/ /Question/ There is much discussion in our country of the deployment of strategic rockets in Western Europe and the danger that this now poses to the whole world. We think that not enough can be said about this danger, that we still have not said all that we can about this danger. Are we not completely aware of all of the dangers of these rockets?

/Answer/ We know much about nuclear weapons, fusion weapons and their delivery systems. For some time the production of neutron weapons and the possibility of the NATO nations being armed with them were remote problems, since President Carter decided to postpone their production in 1978. Now, however, the situation has changed and the present American administration is arming itself and strengthening the military.

/Question/ Since the guns and launchers intended to deliver neutron warheads are of such small range, is our country under any direct threat from these weapons?

/Answer/ It is true that the range of howitzers that will be used to fire neutron warheads is barely 20 kilometers and that the "Lance" missile has a range of 120 kilometers. Therefore, it is very obvious that missiles from such howitzers and launchers cannot reach our territory. On the surface, it would seem that these weapons are only a means of defense against Warsaw Pact troops, which, according to the NATO military leaders, would be attacking western European nations. Why, then, have they deployed in western Europe Pershing-2 missiles, which as we know, can be armed with nuclear or neutron weapons? These rockets have a range of 1,800 kilometers. This is not a defensive weapon, since launchers deployed in the Federal Republic of Germany can attack cities and other, not only military, targets in the German Democratic Republic, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

/Question/ In comparison to other weapons, neutron warheads are miniature, so are they as dangerous as other types of nuclear and fusion weapons?

/Answer/ It is a fact indeed that neutron warheads have a power of "barely" 0.1-5 kilotons but American scientists knew exactly what they were out for when they were inventing the so-called "clean bomb."

/Question/ What is a neutron weapon?

/Answer/ A neutron weapon is a type of thermonuclear device whose principal source of energy is a synthesis nuclear reaction. On the other hand, the reaction is initiated by a fission charge. I would like to add that the total amount of energy released by the explosion of a neutron charge is that of 1 kiloton of TNT.

/Question/ Are the effects of a neutron bomb explosion similar to those of a "classic" atomic bomb?

/Answer/ They are the same as the effects of an air burst of a low-power atomic bomb: a flash, fireball, blast and noise. A mushroom cloud is also formed. Nuclear energy is released when a neutron bomb explodes. It takes the form of a shock wave, which near ground zero can destroy tanks and solid structures such as houses, factories, etc., heat radiation of enormous power, hard radiation and radioactive contamination of the area. Furthermore, the explosion produces an electromagnetic pulse.

/Question/ We still do not see the difference...

/Answer/ I was just about to get to that point. When a neutron bomb explodes, it releases mainly hard radiation. In a conventional nuclear device, only 5 percent of the energy released is hard radiation, whereas the energy released by a neutron bomb is 70 percent radiation!

/Question/ What does that mean in practical terms?

/Answer/ First, the least effect comes from the shock wave; second, the average range of heat radiation is 400 meters; and third, the hard radiation released is several times that of a conventional thermonuclear device. The fourth difference is that there is less radioactive contamination of the terrain. For comparison, we could say that the radioactive contamination caused by the explosion of a 1-kiloton neutron bomb would be about the same as a high air burst of a 6-8 kiloton fission device.

/Question/ Let us return to the most dangerous effect of such a weapon, the hard radiation.

/Answer/ NATO strategists are planning to have about 2,000 (!) neutron bombs in Western Europe that could enable them to win a future war. In an article in the West German journal DER SPIEGEL, Alfred Staninbird, one of the managers of the neutron bomb project, said with alarming sincerity bordering on cynicism: "We are reducing the effects of shock wave and heat radiation and are close to achieving the killing power we want."

/Question/ Please tell us in more detail about the effects of using this deadly weapon.

/Answer/ The truth about this weapon would be alarming if we were not aware of the fact that it is still not too late to sober up and stop calculating how much equipment can be destroyed by one atomic bomb and how many men can be killed by one neutron bomb.

It is a fact that the explosion of a neutron bomb on a battlefield will create a gap of up to 2 kilometers in which a large number of personnel will be killed and an even greater number seriously wounded, regardless of any sort of vehicular protection. Only a small amount of combat equipment would be destroyed. Despite minimal damages to radioelectronic equipment, induced activity in the metal components of weapons and equipment and the clouding of optical glass, most equipment will be fit for combat. In relation to this, one must be aware that a neutron bomb explosion would be accompanied by none of the effects of a conventional nuclear strike, such as devastation, huge fires, obstructed troop movement, high levels of persistent radioactivity. This allows the enemy to take advantage of the effects of the neutron bomb strike, move into the attacked area and take over the equipment left standing.

/Question/ That is an alarming vision.

/Answer/ But is it not better to talk about it than to pretend that since we have had so many years of peace in Europe we will continue to have then? After all, it has now come to the point that we are seeing not only revanchists, but official agents of the West German Government trying to tell us which people in our country are considered Poles and which are Germans. That is no less shocking than the vision that NATO strategists are trying to use to frighten us and bring us to our knees.

/Question/ However, does what you said mean that we have no way of protecting ourselves against neutron bombs?

/Answer/ We know that the politicians still have not had the last word and that peace in Europe and the world can still be saved. If Western politicians are of a different opinion, then they must remember from history that whenever a new weapon has been born, a shield always followed.

/Question/ In other words, have we found a "medicine" against neutron weapons?

/Answer/ This is not at all an easy problem to solve and if a conflict ever occurs, commanders at all levels should do everything in their power to stop these rockets from being launched at all!

/Question/ And if they are launched?

/Answer/ Troops in the main target areas must spread out and act with great speed. Staffs may not lose command control if they are struck and must have a so-called "second suit" up their sleeves. The personnel in affected vehicles must be quickly changed before the enemy moves into the area. Furthermore, we must make the best use of cover and combat gear for our troops. It has already been established that we cannot manufacture completely effective protective clothing. We can, however, and must equip our present equipment, mainly tanks and personnel carriers, with special neutron shielding.

/Question/ Is it very effective?

/Answer/ To answer in the most general terms, this sort of shielding for tanks can reduce neutron radiation about 10 times and can cut radiation in armored personnel carriers two-fold. Earth shelters provide relatively high levels of protection against radiation. For example, trenches reduce radiation about 10 times, breastworks reduce it about 200 times and heavy pillboxes (which can be constructed in large urban centers) reduce radiation as much as 500 times.

/Question/, Since we are talking about protection against neutron radiation in cities, what sort of losses can we expect?

/Answer/ This mainly depends upon the efficiency of information and warning systems. One thing is sure--when the warning is given, no one should remain above ground, but everyone should take cover, and this includes any underground structures. If there are losses that cannot be avoided, equipment recovery services, medical terms, etc., that are part of the city and factory Civil Defense services will quickly go into action.

/Question/ What about military losses?

/Answer/ The army has the necessary equipment to deal with areas that have been hit with nuclear or neutron weapons. Properly equipped chemical subunits will check people and equipment for radiation and take measures to liquidate the effects of weapons of mass destruction quickly and effectively.

/Question/ Is there anything optimistic to be said in spite of the frightening vision you have described?

/Answer/ Knowing that the danger exists and taking measures to counteract the possible effects of these and other such dangerous weapons cannot eliminate losses entirely, but may considerably reduce them. One thing is sure--it is still not too late to throw off the landslide of arms escalation being forced upon us by American imperialism. The Geneva talks have been suspended but not entirely broken off. There still is time to return to the conference table before the weapons speak because the first day or even hours of a war in Europe may be too late for sobriety. The

generations of survivors rebuilding the damage of nuclear madness would spend a long time asking who crossed the threshold of common sense, when and why. I would like to say again, it is not too late.

/Interviewer/ Thank you for the conversation.

Chemical Weapons

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Dec 83 pp 1,2

/Interview with Div Gen Czeslaw Krzyszowski, chief of Chemical Troops, by Stanislaw Masztanowicz: "NATO Arsenal Are a Threat to Human Health and Life"/

/Text/ Work is being done in some NATO countries to improve and perfect chemical weapons arsenals. A PAP journalist asked the Ministry of National Defense's chief of Chemical Troops, Div Gen Czeslaw Krzyszowski, to characterize the chemical weapons research.

In East-West relations, the West, especially the United States, is continually trying to upset the equilibrium of world forces and to gain an advantage in every area of the military. The United States is thus looking for new weapons frequently capable of mass destruction.

The research on new types of weapons of mass destruction are, as a rule, conducted by the United States in great secrecy. However, the little information that does get to the press is enough to understand the scale of danger these weapons present. Research in this area involves the improvement of nuclear and neutron weaponry and new generations of chemical weapons.

Western military circles claim that poisonous substances for combat are very good weapons in terms of their strong, fast-acting toxic effects and the simplicity and relative low cost of their manufacture.

Along with such as phosphorous organic toxins sarin and soman, the United States is planning to add third-generation chemical weapons of even greater power to its arsenal. Missile warheads can be filled with such substances.

Many industrial and research institutes, institutes of higher learning and foreign research centers are working to meet the needs of the U.S. Army chemical troops. The research work is bringing the expected results, i.e., the "V-gases," the most toxic of the combat poisonous substances. In the United States, plants at Newport have begun mass production of V-gases.

The United States has the world's greatest arsenal of chemical weapons, consisting of 55,000 tons of highly-poisonous nerve gases and 150,000 tons (more than 3 million pieces) of chemical munitions. The production

of new binary chemical munitions is being planned in the United States. Factories are being built in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, for an annual production of about 70,000 units of binary chemical ammunition. The program for modernizing the chemical weapons arsenal has been estimated to cost about 10 billion dollars and is supposed to increase the stock of chemical munitions to 5 million units over a period of 5 years.

Ammunition storage dumps in the Federal Republic Germany (Hessen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Baden-Württemberg) contain some 4 million decimeters of isometrical (crystalline) sarin and VX.

/Question/ The storage of such enormous chemical munitions stocks endangers tens of thousands of people...

/Answer/ Yes, even in peacetime. There can occur emergencies in chemical munitions magazines that can have consequences beyond reckoning.

/Question/ And if chemical weapons are used in an eventual conflict?

/Answer/ Let an example in a report submitted to the Secretary general of the UN on chemical and biological weapons show the effects of an attack upon a city by phosphoorganic poisons: a city of 80,000 unexpectedly attacked would have 40,000 affected by the gases, and half of that number would be killed. With a well-organized civil defense, the number of deaths would naturally be much less.

Here we must take into consideration the fact that chemical weapons would be used along with other types of weapons, which means that the level of immediate effects would be multiplied. There are, however, secondary effects. For example, to this day, children are being born in Vietnam with birth defects and genetic changes caused by the tens of thousands of tons of herbicides and defoliants used by the Americans. Some of the defoliants, such as "Agent Orange, have caused fetal paralysis and deformation. Research by American specialists at the Institute for Cancer Research in Bethesda has confirmed this. It has shown that paralysis occurs among persons working in the production of these materials. To this day, thousands of American soldiers are suffering poisoning from contact with these substances.

/Question/ No massive use of chemical weapons was noted during World War II...

/Answer/ True, but this does not mean that there was no desire to use them or that none were produced. The chemical weapons stocks of the fighting armies made possible their use on an unprecedented scale. Despite the Geneva Convention, poisonous substances were being produced for the Nazis in the huge IG Farben firm. Out of 43 production divisions, 28 of them were directly working for the German Army. They were producing substances such as iperite and tabun.

Looking back over the years, it can be said that the Nazi Army did not dare use its poison gases because it knew that the Soviet Army, the Polish Army and other armies of the anti-Nazi coalition were well-trained and prepared for defense against such weapons. In this case, the use of chemical weapons would not have paid off with the desired results. Many theorists and commanders in the West as well share this view.

This brings us to the practical conclusion that in the face of the growing danger, one of the principal tasks of our armies is the constant improvement of their ability to defend themselves against chemical weapons. Civil defense faces the same task. Only a well-organized, effective defense against chemical warfare can render these weapons useless.

12261

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THEORY OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIETY EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 7, 10 Apr 84 pp 16-18

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Ion Tudosescu]

[Text] As we know the action of the law of contradiction in society is characterized by the interaction of the subjective and objective factors in the structuring and resolution of the contradictions. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, "Contradictions exist and will continue to arise in any society. They cannot be resolved by denying them but by studying and understanding their causes and by taking purposeful action accordingly to eliminate the old situations and boldly promote the new."

The social tensions in the struggle between the new and the old are universal in society, but whether or not they are antagonistic and the forms they take depend upon how the laws of the social process are interpreted and the optimal developmental strategies are determined in the managerial and decision-making mechanism, and upon how the main features of those strategies are actually envisaged.

The field of application of the law of contradiction and its bearing on the law of unity and of conflict of opposites are general theoretical points that can have important methodological consequences. The law of contradiction and of the relationships of opposition and unity of opposites is a general law of society. In the societies where social relations are based upon private ownership of the production means, the relations among the social classes and categories composing the society are highly diverse, namely those of unity, of alliance or of conflict depending on the interests arising from their identical, similar or different positions in regard to the production means. Therefore in the regulation of group and class relations in those societies the unity and opposition of opposites take the form of unity and conflict of opposites. The use of these concepts in class relations involves the main classes of the society in particular, since the whole evolution of group and class relations in such societies depends upon the relations among them.

In socialist society, thanks to the identical or similar positions of the social classes and categories in regard to the production means, relations of opposition

among them do not take the form of a conflict of opposites and the differences in people's interests gradually cease to be essential as social leveling progresses under construction of the fully developed socialist society. In bringing out the universal nature of the law of contradictions in social development, Nicolae Ceausescu made the point that the reorganization of society on the new basis of communist society (the supreme goal of Romania's social development, clearly defined in the CPR Program) makes it possible to resolve the contradictions through the purposeful efforts of the social forces, of people, in the interests of all society, of freedom and social justice, and of the material and cultural welfare of all members of society."

The stand taken by Nicolae Ceausescu that in its present stage the Romanian socialist state is a state of revolutionary workers democracy and not one of dictatorship of the proletariat is of particular theoretical and methodological importance for understanding the operation of the law of contradiction in socialist relations, or for eliminating the term "conflict" in describing it. In Romania's present stage, socialist construction has changed the proletariat into a new class, the working class. Moreover Romania no longer has radically opposed classes but friendly, closely allied classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which expressed the essence of the class struggle in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, no longer has any objective basis and therefore there is no reason whatever for regarding it as a regular feature of social development under socialism. Its place in the operating mechanism of the organizational structures of socialist society has been taken by workers revolutionary democracy, which expresses the essence of the process of leveling the social classes and groups and their unity of vital interests. The antagonisms that may arise in socialism do not pertain to the vital class interests but to the courses of action of the subjective factor in resolving any contradictory relations growing from differences in interests that are not vital or essential.

In the societies divided into antagonistic classes, the law of unity and conflict of opposites in class and group relations is a particular instance of the action of the law of contradiction, which generally takes the form of a law of unity and opposition of opposites. But the term "conflict" in describing the general laws of social progress is not entirely inapplicable to socialism. It no longer applies to the group and class relations but it is operative for expressing the content of the law of denial and the objective correlation between continuity and discontinuity in social development, which takes the form of the relation between the new and the old. As Nicolae Ceausescu suggested at the Mangalia Working Conference in August 1983, that law calls for a revolutionary spirit, receptiveness and a revolutionary, militant attitude on the part of all categories of workers in the whole process of promoting the new and in rejecting inertia and inactivity, the routine attitude, complacency and all manifestations of the old.

In socialist society it is also necessary to consider the relations among the social microgroups or those among various activities (between industrial and agricultural development, or between primary economic sectors and the secondary and tertiary ones) or various social fields (between development of the productive forces and that of social and production relations, or between the economic structure and the organizational structures of society), between social awareness and social existence, between physical and intellectual work, between city and village, between the individual and society, etc.

The fact must also be mentioned here that in social determinism the oppositional character of the relations between opposites never disappears, because the dialectical transition from old to new is the basic characteristic of social evolution, reflecting the irreversibility of the general trends of social history.

The contradictions in society are always both general and specific. The contemporary societies have distinctive typologies of objective contradictory phenomena and processes to which the particular tensions among the social groups and communities that live, act and relate to each other correspond. Therefore the problem that arises today is not so much recognition of the objective and general nature of the contradictions and consequently of the law of contradiction in society but particularly the description of their nature and of the distinctive characteristics of the action of the law of contradiction in the systems of the contemporary world, in each country, and according to their particular developmental stages.

Description of the nature of the contradictions in society in any given system or stage in the historical process is unquestionably only a first step in the theoretical procedure concerning the dialectics of the contradictions in society. It must be followed by a second step consisting of planning the specific measures and courses of action in order to resolve them. That is the only way the subjective factor can progress from knowledge and comprehension to a practical, efficient procedure to directly stimulate the developmental trends that the contradictions generate and incorporate. This gives rise to the problem of transition from knowledge to practical action to resolve the contradictions in keeping with the objective trends of progress. In the light of this interpretation of the role of the subjective factor in the objective evolution of society, the CPR and its general secretary have specially emphasized the need of analyzing the nature of the contradictions in Romanian society in its present stage and finding the best ways of resolving them in time in accordance with that analysis.

In connection with the internal contradictions of Romania's present stage, in the report to the National Party Conference of December 1982 Nicolae Ceausescu analyzed the contradictions between the level of industrial development and the slower development of agriculture, between the development of consumer goods production and the public's current consumer demands, between the processing industry and the existing sources of raw materials and energy, etc. He returned to that last contradiction in the fall of 1983, defining it as a contradictory ratio between the current energy requirements of the Romanian national economy (equipped with extensive industrial capacities) plus the public's energy consumption (determined by Romania's high standard of civilization) and Romania's present potentials for discovery of new energy reserves and resources and for better use and conservation of the existing energy sources.

It is another idea of particular theoretical and methodological value that the basic contradictions in socialist society that existed in the stages before socialist construction in Romania still remain in the present stage, but with new characteristics, such as for example the appearance of a contradiction between the intensive development of the productive forces and the development of social and production relations, which shows some tendency to lag behind. It is operative today against the background of the whole process of applying the advances of the technical-scientific revolution and in close correlation with the changes

that must be made in production relations in the course of construction of the fully developed socialist society. The effect of the contradiction between social awareness and social existence is to be interpreted in the same way. In the present stage not only production relations have a telling effect upon the development of people's awareness, but also the productive forces of Romanian society, and direct action in the area of material production has a strong influence upon the attitude, the level of comprehension, and the type of political, ideological and moral conviction.

In connection with the nature and operation of the current contradictions in Romanian society, we feel it necessary to specify the following distinctive characteristics:

In the first place, they are objective contradictions that have appeared and take effect in the historical process of development. Of course objective contradictions must be distinguished from the contradictions that arise because of interference of the subjective factor with the regular, objective course of the social processes. The latter must be eliminated when they arise (Criticism and self-criticism may be regarded as important methods of resolving such contradictions) or preferably, preventive measures should be taken so that they do not arise including organizational measures, and intensified socialist democracy is an essential one. Sound theoretical substantiation of decisions, based upon extensive study of the social facts, and careful correlation of these practical decisions with the requirements of the basic principles and values of socialist society and of the main ideals and aspirations of the social classes or communities are only a few of the measures that could prevent interference of subjective causes with the decisions, which interference could result in contradictions or discrepancies in the objective dialectics of society.

In the second place, the contradictions operative in Romania's present stage are contradictions of growth. They cannot be regarded as dysfunctions of the social system but as whole dynamic processes and sources of higher rates of development and progress, provided they are reported in time, fully perceived and understood and the right measures are taken on all levels of the organizational system of society so that their resolution will result in considerable gains in efficiency in implementation of the aims of the 12th Party Congress and the provisions of the CPR Program.

Resolution of the current contradictions in social development does not mean elimination of any contradictions, to say nothing of serving the purpose of eliminating or mitigating the contradictory character of the social processes and phenomena. It follows from recognition of the universal nature of the law of contradiction in society that the activity of the subjective factor must include constant study of the contradictory states that appear in society as a permanent basis for effective social action. It is an essential requirement in this connection to keep promoting the new, the truly new in all activities, and to expedite the objective and subjective conditions so that the new can be structured to overcome the old and to become a basic prerequisite and criterion of effective social action.

In the CPR documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works the law of contradiction in society is examined and described in close connection with the law of conflict

between new and old, while practical political action to resolve the contradictions is interpreted as activity to promote the new and eliminate the old.

Other contradictory states and discrepancies also appear against the background of harmonious development of the Romanian national economy and Romanian socialist society in general. In the light of the description in the party documents and the evolution of Romanian society in its present stage, these include, for example, the discrepancies in socialist production relations, those among the workers' capacities as owners, producers and beneficiaries, and those caused by failure to fully realize the fact that in Romanian society the workers are objectively equipped with those determinations as part of socialist production relations. Moreover contradictions can also be caused by some discrepancies between the economic base and superstructure of society, by defects in the practice of socialist democracy due to persistence of forms of bureaucracy in some organizational structures' activity, and by failure of all workers to fully realize that they are also organizers of production and should directly participate in management and decisions in the system of workers self-management and economic self-administration.

In their turn the shortcomings in theoretical-ideological work, in formation of the new man, and in accentuating the processes of human disalienation and rapprochement permit (in correlation with some difficulties and contradictory states in economic and social activity and in that of the organizational structures) some elements of organizational fetishism in some workers' attitudes, defeatist states of mind, and deviant and marginal moral, political, legal and ideological behavior foreign to the humanistic and revolutionary nature of the CPR's conception of the world and life and to the principles of communist morality and of the party and state policy.

In the social sciences, as we know, the criterion of suitability means adaption of theoretical discourse to the practical problems of the dialectics of society and to the developmental strategies operative in the contemporary world. Hence the necessity of analytical rather than descriptive presentation of the problems of the dialectics of the present stage of Romanian society pointed out by the CPR program documents. This requirement is intended to keep the problems of research in the social sciences in step with the new theoretical horizons of science and of the conflict of ideas on the ideological level.

Dialectical materialism is not confined to the theory of development, as it has often been assumed, but includes, in its capacity as a philosophical conception of the world and life, theoretical determinism as well, and among the more recent methodologies it is also concerned with the theoretical perspectives that have been opened up in contemporary science by the general theory of systems and by structural and functional analysis. Accordingly dialectical materialism's body of concepts includes those of causation, necessity and chance, possibility and reality, probability, law, reverse connection and purpose in addition to the concepts of contradiction, qualitative change, quantitative accumulation and denial. And the concepts of system, structure, function, integrativity, totality, systemic organization etc. also play an important part.

As for the dialectics of society, in addition to treatment of problems of the theory of social development (contradictions in society, social revolution and the revolutionary process, progress and the new and old in social development) the scope of dialectical materialism also includes the traditional problems of

the theory of social determinism (the concepts of response, responsibility, freedom, problems of the role of the subjective factor, and relations between law and action in social development) and the problem of the relations between foresight and purpose, between determination and ideals, and between strategy and action in construction of the future.

Dialectical materialism is not only a philosophical theory but also a method of knowledge and action. The general theory of contradiction must be approached in the same comprehensive light, which leads us to the conclusion that the dialectical principle of contradiction (its value in knowledge and action) should also be given further consideration, since it is not identical with the logical-formal principle of contradiction. Moreover the theory of contradiction deals not only with the dialectics of development but also with the structure of the natural and social universe (a fact made increasingly evident by the current progress of the natural and social sciences), the law of contradiction being not only a law of development and determinism but also a law of structure.

In the light of correlation of the theory of development with the theory of determinism and structural-systemic thought on the general problems of dialectical materialism, its basic traditional concepts must also be redefined, especially that of contradiction. Thus contradiction can be defined today in a more comprehensive and detailed way as a particular area of the relations that form the structure of the systems. It is situated between their polar (contradictory) aspects, in relations of functional interdependence upon whose effect both the structure and the evolution of the systems depend. Accordingly the contradictions are the causal basis both of the structural configurations and qualitative determinations of the systemic formations and of the diachronism of the structures and the qualitative changes. Therefore there is a correlation between contradiction and causation and between the law of contradiction and the law of causation, just as the law of contradiction is equally a law of structure and a law of evolution and determination of the systems.

Dialectical materialism closely relates contradiction to functional dependence. Accordingly, the contradictions can play a functional or dysfunctional role in the evolution and qualitative determination of the systems. This differentiated effect of the contradictions is especially apparent in the dialectics of society, since the consequences of the action of the law of contradiction are dependent there upon the nature of the interaction of the subjective factor in the determinism of society.

Viewed in relation to the principle of correlation of the systems, the contradictions may appear not only as relations of immanence but also as those of transitivity, while the action of the law of contradiction in the evolution of the systems may give rise to relations of both self-determination and heterodetermination, involving correlations between the internal and external contradictions and between the efficient cause and the final cause. Analysis of the contradictory relations from the standpoints of immanence and especially of purpose could also lead us to the conclusion that the law of reverse connection is correlated with the law of contradiction and the principle of dialectical contradiction with the principle of self-regulation of the systems.

We believe the foregoing opinions about the possibility of correlating the law of contradiction not only with the laws of development and evolution but also with

the laws of the process of determining the systems and with those that are operative in the process of their integrative structuring and organization can help to further the generality of Lenin's view that "Contradiction is the essence of dialectics." I think all the other concepts of dialectical materialism can be treated in the same way, especially those with society as a dialectical reference, so that the revolutionary processes characterizing the contemporary world, as well as the particular characteristics of the present stage of Romanian society, can be explained more profoundly and comprehensively.

Treatment of the theoretical problems in Nicolae Ceausescu's works and, in a quite different way, those concerning the contradictions in the present stage of Romanian society in close connection with their application to direct social practice is a vital requirement for studies in philosophy and the social sciences in Romania and a critical prerequisite for bringing them up to the theoretical and methodological standards required by contemporary social practice.

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CSO: 2700/179

DATA ON FARMERS' MEMBERSHIP IN LCY

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 84 p 18

[Text] Comparative figures on the proportions and numbers of private farmers in the population, in the membership of the LC and in central and provincial committees of the LC show two characteristics. The first is that the number of peasants who are members of the LC represent a smaller percentage in markedly farming regions than the average for the SFRY, with the exception of Kosovo, and the other is that the higher the level of a party forum, the fewer peasants there are.

Indicator	Share of Private Farmers in:		
	Population	League of Communists	LC Central and Provincial Committees
SFRY/LCY	Over 7 million or 28.90%	82,519 or 3.8%	1
Bosnia-Hercegovina	29.60	3.0	4
Montenegro	25.40	5.5	2
Croatia	22.10	1.8	1
Macedonia	30.20	4.9	2
Slovenia	10.30	0.3	2
Serbia	35.60	5.4	9
Serbia proper	34.70	5.6	--
Vojvodina	32.00	2.0	5
Kosovo	43.20	12.6	9
Yugoslav People's Army	0.04	0.5	--

Our country has 12,088 village party organizations, 82,519 peasant party members are affiliated with them, but there are also more than 300,000 party members affiliated with them who are not direct agricultural producers. One need not be amazed, then, by the datum that in 1982 only 3,446 (5.4 percent) peasants were elected party secretaries and that there were 13,523 peasants (5.4 percent) in party secretariats of basic organizations of the LC. That same year there were 1,569 private farmers (7.4 percent) on LC opstina committees, while only 5 peasants were secretaries of opstina committees of the LC (1 percent), and just 1 private farmer (in Slovenia) was even committee chairman. And finally the datum that in the presidiums of opstina committees of the LC there were 270 peasants (4.7 percent of the total number of members of those bodies).

LJUBLJANA PROFESSOR DISCUSSES CHURCH, STATE RELATIONS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 84 pp 36-38

[Interview with Prof Anton Stres of the Theological Faculty in Ljubljana by Ratko Knezevic]

[Text] In spite of many pessimistic predictions by students of religion who assert that religion is in crisis, in spite of the scientific achievements and criticisms of religion from Voltaire to Marx, in spite of the modern Marxist theories of religion, religion and the church continue to exist. It is obvious that the reasons for this existence are not only in the consciousness of people, but also in the general and specific conditions of human life. In some societies the church has made use of the chance offered by crisis and tried to present itself as a firm stronghold in a world poisoned by consumer ideology, industrialization, terrorism and wars, in a world in which everything has been called into question.

Our interlocutor on the present position of the church in general, and on the position of the Catholic Church here and in the world in particular, is Dr. Anton Stres, a professor of the history of philosophy and ethics at the Theological Faculty in Ljubljana. After all, Stres took his doctorate on the subject of "The Development of the Yugoslav Marxist Theory of Religion," and his mentor was Vjekoslav Grmic. Stres is a monastic priest and belongs to the order of St Vinko. Recently we have noted some of his statements at round tables in Slovenia, where people were discussing the place of the believer and the church in our society, and whether believer can be a member of the LC, etc....

[Question] Professor Stres, is religion in the world in a crisis?

[Answer] I think that it is difficult to talk about the position of religion in the world, and that it is necessary to make a distinction between the western world and, let us say, the world of the developing countries. The world is in a crisis, we are witnessing great changes and transitions from one type of society to another, and in this world everything is in a crisis, not just religion. In the developing countries things are different. There, as far as I know, religion is flourishing.

[Question] Does this apply to all churches in general, or just to the Catholic Church?

[Answer] To all churches, and thus to the Catholic Church as well. But if we compare Christianity and Islam, there is a great difference. Islam is much more aggressive in some developing countries, while that could not be said of Christianity.

[Question] What is the position of the Catholic Church in the socialist countries of the Eastern Bloc?

[Answer] In the West, the church still has excessively good relations with the ruling structures, and therefore the lower strata of the population are mostly the least religious, while in the East the church is automatically in the same position as all those who do not belong to the ruling bureaucracy. Consequently, in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the so-called proletariat is the most religious part of the population. Even here the workers, along with the peasants, are the most religious social category, which is certainly a paradox for Marxist sociologists, if not a blasphemy.

[Question] It seems that by approaching Marxism the church wants to modernize itself. Thus, for example, Christian theologians frequently find in socialism some social teachings from so-called early Christianity. To what extent is this true?

[Answer] The church's starting points are moral, while Marxism claims of itself that it is derived not only from morality but also from science, which has a quite definite meaning. Thus, the methodology is quite different, but it is certain that the values on which socialism is based are genuinely evangelic. We all know that there are several socialisms in the world, and that socialism existed even before Marxism, what the classics called utopian socialism. In my opinion, the difference between utopian and scientific socialism today is less significant than it was in the past. Today we know that even this scientific socialism is not scientific in the same sense that other sciences are scientific.

[Question] How much of a truly Christian view of the world is there in socialism?

[Answer] Identity can be seen here not in the view of the world but in the view of man. I would just like to emphasize something: Man has to be the end and not the means. I think that this is a profoundly Christian assertion, and likewise one made by all real socialist movements... The extent to which this is realized is another question. It is certain that this has to be verified every day and that one has to see whether this is being realized or not. Socialism has been presented through this idea, and this idea is not only acceptable, but also essential.

[Question] To what extent are the differences between materialism and idealism today a conflict of views of the world, and to what extent are they everyday politics?

[Answer] I may possibly surprise some Marxists here, but I think that we can already call the assertions about differences between materialism and idealism "vulgar Marxism." It has been demonstrated, in fact, that idealism, with respect to Christianity, is not idealistic in the sense that it could be and is assured by this term. Likewise, Marxism is not completely materialistic, either. Christianity, on one hand, assumes God and gives him absolute primacy. Only this God--and here is the great disagreement between the Marxist and the Christian--is by no means a rival of man in any historical or any other event. At the round table that was organized by DELO, I cited a sentence from Cromwell that he addressed to soldiers before going into battle: "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry." Thus, every Christian has to know that God will not do anything in his stead, that he has to work as if there were no God, and at the same time attribute everything to God. This may appear paradoxical, but it is the only thing that is genuinely religious. On the other hand, materialism, i.e. Marxism, is not quite materialistic, because there is still a certain transcendence, and this transcendence is actually history. Marxists believe and expect that history has some objective direction of its own, that it will take place sooner or later, and that there is some "fate" that leads straight to communism. There is one more great disagreement that is derived from the last century and should have been surmounted a long time ago, the disagreement between science and religion. It is natural that in the last century people did not know the boundaries between these two areas, but today it is clear that science can by no means enter into a conflict with religion, nor should or can religion enter into a conflict with science. For a long time now you have had believers who are good scientists, and vice versa...

[Question] On what basis can religion and science be in agreement today?

[Answer] God does not appear in the world as a natural force. His existence is of another kind, with a different significance...And in this way there is no contradiction of any kind between what science reveals and what religion asserts. Science today knows that it is dominant only in the small part that is familiar with and processes, and that there is still a considerable amount that has not been discovered. But I want to emphasize this: Science will never be able to prove that God does not exist. If science really were to prove God, then God would no longer be God, there would only be a natural force that would no longer be God...

[Question] What is the position of the Catholic Church today, and what are its possibilities in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] I think that our society is fairly open, and that in Yugoslavia social trends exist like everywhere else, possibly with certain specific features unique to our history and our system. Our position is much more favorable than the position of the church in many other socialist countries. The position of the church in Yugoslavia can easily be compared with its position in some West European countries. But in spite of all this, I would say that the church, in our society, is only tolerated, but not respected. What do we tolerate? What is bad or weak but is not such that we would have to be disturbed by it. We tolerate, for example, the bad air in Ljubljana, we tolerate a certain

percentage of carbon dioxide in the air, we tolerate some biological contaminations... Thus the problem is for believers, from a state of tolerance, to experience real and full respect.

[Question] Why do you think that they are not sufficiently respected, when society's strategic commitments are clear, at least as far as believers are concerned?

[Answer] In Yugoslavia the government has a Marxist idea that religion is alienation. And this puts it in a bad light. There is still a prevailing idea that these are people who are lacking something, who are not emancipated and therefore cannot be members of the vanguard. In fact, there are many Marxists who know about this problem and who know that Marx's definitions of religion cannot be absolute, and cannot be definitive...

[Question] If the Catholic Church is still seeking something in our society, on behalf of whom is it seeking it, and where does this feeling of being short-changed come from when society publicly condemns sectarianism?

[Answer] The church cannot seek anything on behalf of some special interests, or even privileges. What it seeks, it seeks only on behalf of human rights, as those rights are defined in the well-known Declaration of the UN, from which they are also adopted in our Constitution. The essential thing for these rights is still that they be unconditional. No one can say, first of all fulfill these conditions, and then you will receive the right to the religious education of your children, the right to the unhindered practice of your religion, the right to equality, etc. I think that this unconditional nature is the essence of these rights, since what we have a right to can never be converted into a reward for "decent conduct."

[Question] In Ljubljana a mosque is being built next to the Church of St Christopher at the Ljubljana graveyard of Zala?

[Answer] I am satisfied that these believers also have their place, their own place where they can satisfy their religious needs. I expect that this mosque will somehow fit into the existing space with its architecture...

[Question] Are you certain that some church circles in Slovenia do not have anything against the building of the mosque?

[Answer] I am. They gathered in the courtyard of our faculty and held their services...

[Question] In parts of all large churches there is an evident tendency toward a blending of the religious with the national, in which what is religious becomes essentially national. Isn't this a way to overcome the crisis of the church?

[Answer] In and of itself it could be. But, let us say, it depends on whether any specific Slovenian Catholic is emphasizing his belonging to Slovenian culture and the Slovenian community, which is in part also Christian.

In Slovenia, we have witnessed a great migration from the village to the city. In this way all of that Christian tradition, and most of all the Slovenian, was lost. All of our national customs were associated with church holidays, and thus a large number of these different customs and proverbs were associated with church holidays, the saints, etc. And now this is being lost. Immediately after the Second Vatican Council there was a trend for everything traditional to be rejected as not respectable. In this, the Catholic Church was under the influence of Protestantism. But now it is concluded that even these national devotions should be given much more significance than otherwise. It would be quite absurd and sociologically unjustified to reject this as something less valuable, second-rate.

[Question] In its history, was the relationship of the Catholic Church in Slovenia and the Slovenian people different from the relationship of the Catholic Church in Croatia and the Croatian people?

[Answer] I think that the Slovenians have had still less of a link between being Slovenian and Catholicism. Possibly it is because the Slovenians were surrounded by Catholic peoples and consequently never had to fight for their religion, since when they fought for their independent existence, they had to fight for being Slovenian, while, for instance, the Croats were distinguished by their religion from the Turks and Islam, from the Serbs and Orthodoxy. When a Slovenian identified himself as a Slovenian, he was opposed by an Austrian or a German, also Catholics. He did not need any reasons for differentiation besides national ones, while the Croats, however, had to differentiate themselves from and fight against the Turks, a force that acted in the name of a different religion.

[Question] In Slovenia the Christian socialist movement (which appeared in 1983) was associated with the communists between the two wars, and with the Liberation Front in 1941. Didn't something like that exist in Croatia?

[Answer] Yes, it was the only possible way then. I do not know whether it was carried out well from the political and practical standpoint. But I wonder why that movement disappeared completely after the war, after the liberation.

[Question] Do parts of the leadership of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia have a political program and political goals?

[Answer] I think that they do not. Individual church dignitaries may have them. The church itself cannot have any political program. Some political programs could be drawn from past papal bulls, and this has been done by certain Christian parties in the West. Later it was seen that the church actually could not have any political program of its own, and that it could not be competent to do this, because that would be clericalism. I am not saying that the church cannot have its own point of view on social and political issues.

[Question] What is the position of the Catholic Church in regard to the "class struggle"? Because we see that numerous priests in Latin America are siding with the oppressed.

[Answer] The church is very reserved toward the class struggle. The class struggle is one of those expressions that have many meanings. For instance, if the class struggle meant violence, in that case the church is reserved. In the tradition of the Catholic Church violence is permitted in certain exceptional cases, when conditions were intolerable and when there really were failures to respect human rights. Violence was permitted not as the normal path, but as the exceptional path, while in Marxism, for instance, the class struggle is still the normal path, the normal way in which various conflicts are resolved. If the church accepted the principle of the class struggle, then it would have to commit itself to one class against another. In that way it would be setting itself up as one part of the population against another part of the population, and that is not right.

[Question] In Slovenia the relationship between church and state is frequently discussed at various round tables. The impression is that the Slovenian church has the highest number of the so-called liberal theologians, for instance Grmic, who advocate a dialogue. Why are there advocates of a different approach?

[Answer] When I speak of the relations between the church and politics, I have to say that the church has to be critical, and not apologetic with respect to any system, since no system is complete. In this regard there is a difference between the view of Bishop Grmic and the leadership of our church. Grmic wants to have the church declare itself for our order, and persuade its believers to participate in it more and more. Others, however, say that this would mean a new, and this time leftist, clericalism, an ideologization of Christianity, of which there has been too much in history, unfortunately. If historically the church was associated with one type of government, it does not follow from this that it has to be associated with a different type today, since this would likewise be a politicization of religion, only with a different sign. But this does not mean in any way that believers should not be involved in accordance with their personal convictions and their consciences; it is just that the church itself should not use its authority for this purpose.

[Question] Recently you discussed here in Slovenia whether a believer can be a member of the LCY? What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] A letter was published in DELO two months ago saying that believers want to join the party. Certainly this was not the point of the letter, nor was it the point of the debate that was conducted. Every social group has the right to determine who will belong to it and who will not.

I posed the question quite differently. Specifically, the LC is not just another group in our society; it has a clearly defined role according to the constitution and according to its program--it is the role of the vanguard. If the ideology of the LC becomes the leading ideology of society, and if this leading ideology has atheism as an integral part of it, then I am concerned as a believer, since this will necessarily result in a "hardline" view of religion and religious people... That was the point of my statement.

[Question] What are relations within the church like? Can we ask whether the church has two faces: One in regard to its own interests in society, and the other within itself, i.e. certain rights and freedoms within it?

[Answer] Certainly some things are restricted within the church itself. The church sets the norms for itself and its members. In the church, **everyone** cannot think and say what he likes; there are principles that apply to everyone, and which are mandatory for everyone.

9909

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CROATIAN LC COMMISSION DISCUSSES BABIC INTERVIEW

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Mar 84 p 2

[Abridged version of statements by Croatian LC Commission for Ideological Questions and Information at a meeting on 14 March 1984, prepared by R. Vujatovic: "Litmus Test for a Given Situation"]

[Excerpts] What was actually said at the last meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee Commission for Ideological Questions and Information?

Last Wednesday, a meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee Commission for Ideological Questions and Information was held in Zagreb, in which some very interesting and specific discussions took place concerning the situation in our public newspapers. We present here the most interesting highlights from these discussions--primarily those of a specific nature, in which even BORBA is mentioned--which were taken from an unauthorized tape recording.

Vjekoslav Keprivnjak: It is possible that the way society has developed, in placing a large number of public newspapers in a position in which they have to earn income, has quite often created the kind of social relations and conditions which alter their basic political and informational function. This has caused the struggle for revenue, for market share, and for circulation to be conceived of and understood in a tasteless manner so that what has been important has been to have topics which have been interesting to the market at any cost, and according to one form of a most widespread and primitive logic, these topics have most often involved scandals, some things which used to be, so to speak, taboo themes.

The weekly newspaper DANAS can suffice as an example. Evaluations made in party forums a little over a year ago in the issue of Croatian newspapers indicated dissatisfaction with regard to DANAS. In a way, DANAS gave in to the market and for this reason a large part of the organization of the Vjesnik Publishing House, With even more marketing, was satisfied with the way DANAS was.

All of Vjesnik's actions over, planning a strategy for the house, a strategy of political declarations, of approaches to problems, etc., are in vain if some papers published by Vjesnik, which have broad influence, remain outside of that strategy. You have now, for example, the most recent illustration which appeared in SN REVIJA. It uses a well-known coach in our country, a man who, one might say, knows full well how to communicate using the means of public information, a man who is, one would say, a media person. He is Curo Blazevic. But I think that in this instance he is not important, but in a practical sense he is more important because one view of the world is put forth from these editorial offices. I think that this is much more significant. Because Curo Blazevic said what he said, it is more important that this interview appears as our interview, in this republic, and that, among other things, the following was said in this interview: This is the return of our coach to the land of vaults, high mountains, and even higher standards, a land in which they bow only to success with a capital "S", success achieved in only one way--by work, with a capital "W". Thus, work and success make up a formula which guarantees progress and popularity, even if you are a foreigner.

Stipe Suvar: Later on there is the sentence that he loves our country more than any other, which probably isn't worth much to us....

Vjekoslav Koprivnjak: Aside from the fact that a Medenica was possible in Switzerland, that other things have been possible and are possible, when one is talking about a pastoral scene of the French part of Switzerland, one must conclude: This Babylonian society, this equality and unity, have a name-- the franc. And we consider this to be a social conception in its end result. Regardless of the fact that a social body, that is, a social council, which is at the head of SN REVIJA, has taken certain positions, has insisted on how one must write, and so on, it is quite apparent that an effective connection does not exist between social councils and those which directly perform certain jobs.

I think that it is similar with regard to television, where we have not analyzed seriously enough what those programs are which exert the greatest influence, which are watched the most frequently, which are not, so to speak, informative and political programs. Here we often lack fast enough reflexes to react to certain things. I am thinking of the cultural and entertainment program. This is a little outside of the realm of serious considerations and serious analysis and that is why we ask ourselves what kind of culture this is, in fact, that we are getting with some series. Because whatever we got with the series "Kamiondzija" was more depressing for the viewers than it was joyous, although it was announced as being something humorous.

Mirko Bozic: At one time I was opposed to Goran Babic in OKO and I left OKO in disagreement with some of the articles he permitted in that paper. Today, if BORBA did that, dragged someone in and then attacked this person, our man, with everything at its disposal, and if POLITIKA were to do that, and do it in an arrogant manner, this would be a dreadful thing.

It cannot be done in this way, and one cannot write this way in the newspapers. The editor who doesn't see this shouldn't be editor, he should submit his resignation or he must be punished by the party... Because, look, anyone can write in all sorts of ways, but that is why the editors have to see what someone is writing, what they are doing. Do we have the power in the party to say to an editor, "Comrade Editor, after making a big mistake like this you cannot hold this position; or, you can stay if the workers' council okays it, but the party has a warning, the party has a reprimand, the party has an expulsion. And what are we doing? You will not talk me into various interviews in NIN, and after that direct criticism against me, on the spur of the moment after 15 days, and say to me otherwise. You will not do this!" I do not agree with the Babic article, it is true, but as editor I would tell him this sincerely, and not drag him in. These are basic matters.

Branko Puharic: I told Goran that he had made a strategic error in his text which made it possible for his opponents to dispute him on matters peripheral to his text, not about its essence. Not one of the letters which were sent in argued with the essential evaluations. They took issue where Goran was weak, and this was on the dictionary and on the listing of names, where one got the impression that Goran was now totally against the intelligentsia. However, at least he had enough courage to list some names, others do not have any such courage and quite often only shoot into a void. But the reactions and all the criticism which one might have, and which I have, concerning Goran's text, are politically symptomatic. In the same way, this is a subject of serious analysis for the LC. It is not now a matter of a war of Goran Babic and 10 other people. I think that the LC should enter into the situation, not in order to defend Goran or to oppose him, but in order to make some determinations regarding some serious issues. In a way, these polemics were a litmus test of a given situation, of the spiritual state in which some issues in this ideological area are unfolding today.

Dejan Rebic: I agree with much of Goran Babic's presentation, excluding of course, some things which were said in a distorted manner there, especially when the entire Vjesnik SOUR was called by name, and similar awkward moments in the interview. But if we are talking about essence, then we must see what the reaction to this is now. I would say that the "bleating" is even worse than the "bleating" of Goran Babic. In all the shots taken at Goran Babic, almost everyone criticizes the way things were said, but essentially we come to the fact that they were criticizing what was said. The matter concerns the fact that we have not perceived what the role of the editor is in journalism in our country, and what his duties are.

Pero Kvesic: Does anyone present know who Stipe Vukovic is?

Stipe Suvar: He has written approximately 300 letters since 1971 to all our newspapers and is a retired Croatian nationalist and a clericalist.

Pero Kvesic: I know that a large number of people do not know who he is, and he is probably one of the most published persons in this language-region of ours, and there is no paper in which he has not published something. I do not know if he also writes in other language-areas, I have not been able to

check on this. This man obviously reads all the newspapers and reacts very promptly with his letters to the editor. If you were to read one letter, it might not be apparent to you what he believes, but if you were to read three, then his platform becomes quite clear. I can remember his early letters something like 15 years ago in the HRVATSKI KNJIZEVNI LIST. It is really not coincidental that it was precisely this person who appeared as the first one to respond to Goran Babic. And what now, what are we coming to? We get newspapers in which all sorts of things are written, which present different positions, and somewhere, in some small corner, Stipe Vukovic has in his small position, one which he continually publishes. We said that we are getting newspapers which have a mass of disagreement, small nuances, etc., but Stipe's position is always clear and always precise. And so for 15 years now we have strayed, and he has worked. We can be glad that he hasn't purchased a video recorder.

I think that this phenomenon is more important than any of his contributions.

9548

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FURTHER COMMENT ON ATTEMPT TO START PRIVATE NEWSPAPER

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Slobodan Stanojevic: "A Correspondent's Private Newspaper"]

[Text] Sinisa Nikolic, for many years the POLITIKA correspondent in Novi Sad and Vojvodina, has overnight become a "star attraction" for many of our news media. "Special interviews" are being conducted with him over the airwaves of certain radio stations in Yugoslavia, a debate has already begun in the pages of DNEVNIK in Novi Sad, and, we have been informed, certain correspondents of foreign periodicals have also talked to Nikolic.

The occasion for this exceptional interest in Sinisa Nikolic had nothing to do with any article he published in POLITIKA or any other periodical, but rather, if it can be so termed, an "internal document" of about four typed pages which he addressed to the Vojvodina Provincial Conference of the SAWP and certain other provincial authorities and which he also generously released for private distribution. That document, as Nikolic's own title states, had to do with an "Initiative for Establishment of a Publication," that is, his personal desire to establish and publish a private newspaper. The newspaper would be called SAMOUPRAVA [SELF-GOVERNMENT] and would have a "subtitle": "An Independent People's Newspaper." Its founder would, of course, be Sinisa Nikolic himself (who in his application did not sign his name as a POLITIKA newsman, but as a reserve captain), and the publisher and editor-in-chief were to be his daughter Tamara, who at this point is a law student who has completed her coursework but has not taken the examination to graduate.

The Readers Would Do the Writing

This, as Nikolic has already successfully advertised it, "first private Yugoslav newspaper" would be published in the Serbo-Croatian language once a month, and later, if it proved necessary, biweekly or even more often. It would be printed in the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets and would be distributed throughout the country, and it would even reach our workers employed abroad temporarily. The newspaper's collaborators would mostly be the readers themselves.

In the "outlined conception" which the reserve captain (referring to the federal, republic and provincial constitutions as well as to provisions of the future new Vojvodina Law on Public Information, which is right now awaiting adoption in the Vojvodina Assembly) sent out to various addresses in Novi Sad, it is stated that he has "discovered" that newspaper readers, radio listeners and television watchers are left very restricted space for direct presentation of their opinions. By and large the citizens are passive recipients of information.

"In SAMOUPRAVA the readers would have the advantage, not the newspapermen. This would be a newspaper in which the readers would be the principal writers. The job of the editors would be to prepare the contributions of the readers for the press and to publish them and classify them by topics. Professional newspapermen would also be able to write in SAMOUPRAVA, of course, but only on an equal footing with other reader-writers, and they would not be paid for their contributions," the POLITIKA correspondent writes.

The following intentions are spelled out in the "outlined conception": "we are resolved that we shall not give in to commercialization," "we will not publish aggressive advertising nor anything which is an attack on man's dignity," "we will not publish photographs of naked beauties either, but we will publish the naked truth without hesitation, however ugly it might appear."

In his "assessment of possible users" the reserve captain lists the following as potential readers of his paper: many reader-writers from throughout the country, workers employed abroad temporarily, and especially "young and educated people, high school and university students, those who are employed and those who are looking for work."

Polemics in DNEVNIK

The newspaper, he says, would be "financed exclusively with resources of private individuals, just as is customary in small business." He states the following in this connection: "Financing has been provided for the first issues, later it will be replenished by selling the newspaper." The price of the newspaper will be set to cover the material costs and personal income for the editor-in-chief, one manuscript editor, and possibly a typist. After all, the reserve captain asserts, "the founder of the newspaper and publisher do not intend to get rich, but merely to guarantee a normal life for those employed on the newspaper."

After the unjustifiably large publicity which was given this initiative, which has not yet been taken up officially, by the Zagreb weekly DANAS, DNEVNIK of Novi Sad reacted in a bristling polemical style. In an article entitled "The Nikolices' Hyde Park" the newsman Bogdan Cetnik wrote the following assessments:

"I say that a wise parent does not buy a child everything the child wants, but many parents often forget that. For them the important thing is that the child be satisfied, the price be damned. Thus the child gets things which his parents never even dreamed of. Yet it seems that the POLITIKA correspondent in Novi Sad Sinisa Nikolic has these past few days gone furthest in

this; the reserve captain, which is the only way he identifies himself in an application to start a newspaper, is doing everything to give his daughter nothing more nor less than a newspaper, and that a newspaper addressed to all of Yugoslavia.

"Presumably to give the document greater weight, Nikolic takes Marx and the constitution as his points of departure (who would dare to attack them), and then he reveals that his sole desire is to help readers whom the modern news media otherwise refuse sufficient space to express their opinions. Thus the Nikolices emerge in the role of saviors and defenders of the constitution and promise the pages of their SAMOUPRAVA to the 'disenfranchised,' a paper in which they will be able to do just about anything they like. Practically anyone who wishes to can write in SAMOUPRAVA (a Hyde Park for those who are literate), there is no insistence that one be familiar with the subject matter he writes about, no insistence on the truth, nor is there any limit on choice of topics.... Everyone can say of everyone else that he is a thief, but the one who has been called a thief is not left without an opportunity to prove that the charge was unfounded in the next issue of the 'independent people's newspaper.'

"It is really difficult to believe that Tamara Nikolic will get that present which her father intended for her, that anyone will give the green light to officially sanctioning this dog pound of a newspaper (which is what Nikolic's conception most resembles)."

In his response to that article Nikolic rejected in the pages of that same newspaper in Novi Sad all the assertions of the newsman Bogdan Cetnik, saying that he "distorts the idea which has just been presented about starting a new Yugoslav newspaper in which the readers, not newspapermen, would be the principal writers." He then says that "contrary to Marx and the constitution, advocates of freedom of the press, Bogdan Cetnik wants to introduce censorship in SAMOUPRAVA at any price." He also rejects the assertion that the newspaper which might be started would be a "dog pound," taking the view that "by the very fact that they will be addressing the public directly, the writers will be very self-critical, cautious and mindful in presenting facts and assessments."

Self-Promotion Nevertheless

And what in the end, then, is to be said about the initiative of the reserve captain and the uproar concerning it?

First of all, that it is simply incredible that such enormous publicity should be given to an initiative which is still in its infancy. There is no innovator, creator or distinguished producer who has been given the kind of publicity received by this altogether marginal initiative for a supposed "advancement" of the information system of socialist self-management.

This also seems to be an obvious example of a specific type of self-promotion and also of the erroneous opinion of some that "private initiatives" will resolve all our problems, including even the shortcomings in the information

system. But this is also an obvious example of the negligent and uncritical attitude of certain news media toward "all topics." But also of pressures for the "initiative to go through."

Nor can it be taken seriously that a "publisher and editor-in-chief" who has never written for the newspaper will all of a sudden be able to discover in good time what is unacceptable for publication in all those letters from readers and stop it from going any further. Or perhaps he will not take much trouble about that? But that is why we should recall the assessment of many political forums to the effect that the forces opposed to self-management and their spokesmen have recently been making ever greater use of precisely "letters to the editors" to advance some of their unacceptable ideas without being noticed.

A question can also be put from the standpoint of the constitution (that "no one may live off the labor of someone else"): Does the conception of SAMO-UPRAVA fit altogether with that? After all, everyone will be working without pay for that newspaper, and the only material benefit from that work will go to the founder, the publisher, and the editor-in-chief (all members of the same family) and possibly an employee or two!

It is also pure Utopism to suppose that "on their own" the working people and citizens (that is, the future "correspondents" of the reserve captain's newspaper) will be so "mindful," "self-critical" and "cautious" that they will conduct only certain civilized debates, and that exclusively based on some sort of "absolute truth." Not to mention the idea that that kind of debate can supposedly lead to some absolute truth! All the debates conducted in our country are on an extremely low cultural level. We do not believe that that level will all of a sudden "in and of itself" be advanced in a private newspaper, since as a practical matter these "bad-mouth" polemicists will feel still freer in a "private newspaper."

Another utter mistake of the "founder and publisher" is that they will be able to hold the editorial conception firmly in their own hands, that is, to "purify" it of certain deviations, when the entire newspaper will depend upon what others choose and will be based on the commitments of others. So that in fact they will either get in a situation of publishing everything that comes along, or on the other hand of themselves "introducing censorship," that is, of not publishing many things.

All in all, it is premature and unnecessary; as the shrewd Shakespeare would say--there has been "much ado about nothing."

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